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Preserving Sports Legacies: A Case Study on the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project

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Preserving Sports Legacies: A case study on the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project

by

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Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Science in Kinesiology

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2012

Dedication

For their support in making this work possible, I gratefully dedicate this thesis to the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team and the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports.

Acknowledgements

This thesis represents the culmination of my first two years of graduate work, a remarkable feat considering the twelve-year hiatus in my education. While I had always longed to continue my academic studies after earning my B.A., numerous challenges made doing so untenable until, at last, I found myself in the company of the very best people, in the best possible place (the Stark Center). To these, I owe my deepest gratitude.

First and foremost I recognize my graduate advisor, Thomas M. Hunt, whose unwavering support and encouragement made this work possible. Dr. Hunt recruited me to the graduate program and to a graduate research assistantship under his supervision; I am eternally grateful for the opportunities he has extended to me and for the faith he has placed in my abilities. He and the Stark Center have provided space, equipment, staff, and many hours of work for this project. For the anonymous donations that have funded my graduate research assistantship at the Stark Center I also owe my sincerest thanks.

Jan Todd has been instrumental in supporting this project; I am deeply appreciative of the time and effort she dedicated to reading and commenting on this thesis. Throughout my graduate career, I have benefited in countless ways from the encouragement and guidance offered by Jan and Terry Todd. Instruction received from the Sport Management graduate program faculty also informed my work; I hope their influence is apparent in this thesis and that I have done justice to their scholarship and teaching.

Words cannot express my gratitude to Cindy Slater. Her friendship, assistance, creativity, advice, and enthusiasm for this project were crucial. I can't imagine having

done this work without her. I also owe much to the hours of diligent legwork and motivating input provided by Tom Lough. This project was only possible because of Tom and the other 1968 U.S. Olympians who generously donated their time and their narratives. The patient technical support of Andy Miller, Ana Gonzales, and Brent Sipes merit my grateful recognition. Quinn Stewart and Rebecka Embry from the UT School of Information also lent their technical expertise and guidance.

This project has been sustained by the work and dedication of many student volunteers and interns, to all of whom I owe my thanks. Scott Jedlicka, Brennan Berg, and Joey Beauchamp conducted the majority of the oral history interviews. Trinity Gibbons, Raquel Hutchinson, Ingrid Kantola, Jack Crawford, Laken Litman, and George Kioussis also did interviews for this project. I am extremely thankful for the many tedious hours spent by Sakina Karimjee and Nicole Crumpley in carefully transcribing interviews; their feedback informed key processes and decisions.

I am fortunate to have a group of supportive friends; their quality conversation and interest in this project invigorated my work. I owe much to my brilliant husband, Josh, whose own belated return to scholarship inspired me to do likewise. His support and understanding were invaluable, especially during the period when we were both full time students and he was in the process of defending his doctoral dissertation. For their kind offers to proofread, I am deeply indebted to Josh and to my dear friend Rachel Andre.

Finally, with loving gratitude I recognize my parents, Tom and Sherrill, whose financial, emotional, and intellectual support helped make this journey possible. My father provided the laptop and software used in my research and writing while my mother carefully proofread my entire thesis.

Abstract

Preserving Sports Legacies: A case study on the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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The central question of this thesis is: How (and why) do we preserve sports legacies? Based on my research and experiences as the project coordinator for the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project at the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports, this thesis examines the social meanings of sports legacies and the rationale behind their preservation. I propose that sports legacies are located at the intersection of culture, memory and history; at the same time, on an individual level, sports legacies are also a form of symbolic immortality. This thesis conceptualizes sports legacies as contested terrain in which individuals and communities engage in continual negotiations on meaning and struggles over representation. Consequently, I propose that public history and oral history are the medium and methodology best suited to sports legacy preservation. Finally, I outline the process by which the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports is preserving the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. This thesis explains how and why we are preserving the legacy of this particular sports team and serves as a blueprint that others may use for preserving sports legacies.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The central question of my thesis is: How do you preserve the legacy of a sports team? This thesis, based on my experiences as the project coordinator for the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project, was originally intended to be an instructional guide to producing digital oral histories of sports teams; but it evolved into much more. In attempting to answer the central question in a meaningful way, I first had to define *legacy* in the sporting context. In doing so, I conducted an epistemological investigation of legacy and formed my own semantic conceptualization of the term. This second chapter builds the foundational knowledge for the third chapter, which explains why the legacies of sports teams are important enough to justify their preservation. Here, I explore the reasons for preserving sports legacies and discuss their value to societies and their significance in the lives of people.

The fourth chapter of this thesis examines some common methods and mediums for sports legacy preservation, namely public history and oral history. Finally, I outline the process by which the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports is preserving the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. This fifth chapter treats the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project as a case study, which illustrates how and why we are preserving the legacy of this particular sports team. It also presents an adaptable model that others may use for preserving the legacies of sports teams. As an active participant in this process, I share my personal reflections on my experiences; therefore, I will occasionally use the first person in this thesis.

Chapter Two: Defining Sports Legacies

What is meant by *legacy* and *sports legacies*? Though *legacy* is widely used (perhaps overused) in a wide range of popular and academic works, the use of the term here begs some explanation or even justification in order to move the term beyond the trite sentimentality of truism. This thesis locates sports legacies at the intersection of public history and public memory. I conceptualize sports legacies as a product of the collaboration of historians with their various publics in an endeavor to make past knowledge, places, events, and/or participants of sports more accessible and meaningful to the public. The creation of sports legacies requires the existence of and public access to historical evidence as well as public discourse at sites of public memory: mass media, archives, libraries, schools, museums, monuments, memorials, and other public spaces. While sustained collective memory is important in fostering and preserving sports legacies, this thesis recognizes that sports legacies, like memories, are contested terrain; sports legacies, like memories, are changeable. Legacies are negotiated and re-negotiated in public memory.

Legacy in sports

A cursory examination of the ways *legacy* is frequently used in sports history and sports journalism reveals that the term is usually employed in one of two ways. First, legacy refers to the ways that sports events and sports figures are represented or recognized in public memory. Excellent examples from scholarly journal publications include Lori Amber Roessner's, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero," and Jaime Schultz's, "'A Wager Concerning a Diplomatic Pig': A Crooked Reading of the Floyd of Rosedale

Narrative." Roessner writes about the contested legacy of baseball great Ty Cobb, examining the differences in the ways Cobb is remembered (and not remembered) in the national popular press and in his home state of Georgia.[1] Schultz also examines how narratives constructed by the popular press influence public memory and collective forgetting, but she writes about Ozzie Simmons, an African-American member of the University of Iowa football team in the 1930s.[2]

The second way in which *legacy* is used in sports history and journalism is in reference to the intangible, symbolic contributions made by sports events and sports figures to society and/or culture.[3] For example, in her journal article "*The Legacy of Pudgy Stockton,"* Jan Todd explains the historical influence of Abbye ("Pudgy") Eville Stockton on women's exercise and her enduring impact on physical culture.[4] Writing about the legacies of sports mega-events, John Horne notes, "Legacy has mutated from a concern with more material outcomes into a quest for more representational and sustainable results . . . The aftermath or repercussions of sports mega-events today are often discussed in terms of their 'legacies'."[5] For example, Chris Bolsmann and Keith Brewster, in "Mexico 1968 and South Africa 2010: Development, Leadership and Legacies," describe the material and intangible benefits of hosting sports mega-events. In these cases, the material legacies are the infrastructure and sports facilities that have

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[1] Lori Amber Roessner, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero," *Journalism History* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 83–95.
[2] Jaime Schultz, "'A Wager Concerning a Diplomatic Pig': A Crooked Reading of the Floyd of Rosedale Narrative," *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 1–21.
[3] See, for example, Richard Cashman, *The Bitter–Sweet Awakening: The Legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*. (Petersham: Walla Walla Press, 2006) and "Epilogue: The Legacy of the Mexico City Olympics," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 6 (2009): 866–880.
[4] Jan Todd, "The Legacy of Pudgy Stockton," *Iron Game History* 2, no. 1 (January 1992): 5–7.
[5] Horne, "Material and Representational Legacies of Sports Mega-events: The Case of the UEFA EURO™ Football Championships from 1996 to 2008," 855.

been, or will be, of long-term benefit to inhabitants of local communities. Bolsmann and Brewster also describe the intangible legacies conferred on South Africa and Mexico. These include unmeasurable social and economic benefits such as confidence on the World Stage, national and ethnic unity, and increases in tourism, development and foreign investment.[6]

Legacy as postself and symbolic immortality

Kendall Phillips, writing about public memory, said, "Humans achieve immortality by inscribing themselves into public memory via their actions before others."[7] A sport legacy, as conceptualized by Raymond Schmitt and Wilbert Leonard, is a path to symbolic immortality:

> Outstanding accomplishments such as Hank Aaron's record of 755 home runs, Don Larson's perfect World Series game, and Nadia Comaneci's incomparable gymnastics score are one route to immortality. The social world of sport facilitates the postself by providing occasions, settings, and processes through which its participants can be remembered, eulogized, and endeared.[8]

In "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," Schmitt and Leonard define *postself* as "the concern of a person with the presentation of his or her self in history," and as an "idealized role-identity that links the present to the future and to the past." Schmitt and Leonard posit that certain features of modern sport, such as widespread media coverage, "comparison through measurement and records, and recognition through awards and

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[6] Chris Bolsmann and Keith Brewster, "Mexico 1968 and South Africa 2010: Development, Leadership and Legacies," *Sport in Society* 12, no. 10 (2009): 1284–1298.

[7] Kendall R. Phillips, *Framing Public Memory* (University of Alabama Press, 2004), 4.

[8] Raymond L. Schmitt and Wilbert M. Leonard, "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 5 (March 1, 1986): 1090.

commemorative devices," make it "particularly efficient" at embodying the postself in collective memory.[9]

Legacy as culture/heritage

Legacy is also akin to culture and heritage; it is something from the past or something transmitted by or received from an ancestor or predecessor.[10] To create and preserve a legacy is to ensure that something from the past persists to the present, and presumably, continues into the future. Sports legacies, then, are essentially sports heritage and sports are part of a society's cultural heritage.

Some scholars define memory as culture and others define culture as societal memory that is transmitted through symbols rather than genetically. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, the editors of *Cultural Memory Studies* explain, "Through culture, humans create a temporal framework that transcends the individual lifespan relating past, present, and future." Culture forges pathways of knowledge transmission "between the living, the dead, and the not yet living." Erll and Nunning assert that people "do not have to start anew in every generation" because they can "reuse and reinterpret" the knowledge of their predecessors. They define cultural memory as a "framework for communication across the abyss of time;" it is participation in "extended horizons of meaning-production" resulting from "recalling, iterating, reading, commenting, criticizing, discussing the remote and recent past."[11]

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[9] Ibid., 1093.

[10] Merriam-Webster, Inc, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged: A Merriam Webster* (Springfield, Mass: Merriam-Webster, 1993).

[11] Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Media and Cultural Memory/Medien Und Kulturelles Gedaechntnis, V. 8 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97.

The collective representations of cultural memory—icons, genres, rituals, traditions, myths, heroes, legends, folktales and other cultural symbolic patterns—owe their origin, transmission, and maintenance within societies to the same mechanisms that produce collective/public memory. In *The Collective Memory Reader,* Olick et al., state

> There are long-term structures to what societies remember or commemorate . . . Powerful institutions, moreover, clearly support some histories more than others, provide narrative patterns and exemplars of how individuals can and should remember, and stimulate public memory in ways or for reasons that have little to do with the individual.[12]

Phillips, in *Framing Public Memory*, remarks that there are "long-term structures to what societies remember."[13] Sport's structure mirrors the organizational patterns that makeup societal memory. In other words, the structure and place of sports in society facilitates their inclusion in the collective representations of cultural memory. Sports embody the rituals, festivals, and traditions of a society. Athletes, depending on the extent to which they embody social meanings, symbolize the heroes of myth and legend in a society, and thus may attain heroic status themselves.[14]

The founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Pierre de Coubertin, envisioned the modern Olympic Games as a sort of cultural legacy transmitted from ancient Greece to the present. Indeed, studies show that the Olympic Games owe their enormous popularity to the clever use of the structures and collective representations of cultural

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[12] Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

[13] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 4.

[14] See Laurence Chalip, "Celebrity or Hero? Toward a Conceptual Framework for Athlete Promotion," in *Advancing Management of Australian and New Zealand Sport*, ed. D. Shilbury and L. Chalip (presented at the 2nd Annual Conference of the Sport Management Association of Australia and New Zealand (Inc.), Burwood, Victoria, 1997), 45.

memory. In an article on the simultaneous existence of many social meanings in the symbols of the Olympic Games, Laurence Chalip writes:

> Olympics research shows that audience interest is maximized via the simultaneous presence of multiple narratives, embedded genres, and layered symbols. Multiple narratives create stories attractive to varied audience segments by recounting dramas of enduring cultural interest or by incorporating contemporary, non-sports political or social concerns. Embedded genres (e.g. festival, spectacle, ritual, game) appeal to a diverse audience by serving as parallel and simultaneous invitations to consumer interest. Appropriately layered symbols (e.g. awards, banners, flags, uniforms, anthems) promote spectator interest by making ceremonies and rituals representative of more than a mere game or contest.[15]

Legacy as memory

Irwin and Szurmuk define memory as a "process and product built by social relationships and practices, where language and communication have a main role."[16] Historian Michael Frisch wrote, "Memory is living history, the remembered past that exists in the present."[17] Memory is often used interchangeably with legacy; preserving a legacy is the same as preserving a memory or a reputation—the way someone or something is remembered and represented by others in public. In "Remembering the 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero," Lori Amber Roessner examines "memory as historical context," "memory as a marker of commemoration or anniversary," "memory as mythology," and "memory as contested terrain."[18] Roessner's ideas particularly inform the work that follows. This

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[15] Laurence Chalip, "The Construction and Use of Polysemic Structrues: Olympic Lessons for Sport Marketing," *Journal of Sport Management*, no. 6 (1992): 87.
[16] Robert M Irwin and Mónica Szurmuk, *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 1st ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 219.
[17] Michael H Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, SUNY Series in Oral and Public History (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), xxiii.
[18] Roessner, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero."

thesis examines sports legacies as historical context, as mythology, as a marker of commemoration or anniversary, and as contested terrain.

In "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," Kerwin Klein writes, "Few academics paid much attention to memory until the great swell of popular interest in autobiographical literature, family genealogy, and museums that marked the seventies."[19] Scholars claim that the most recent modern "memory boom" began in the nineteen-seventies. Olick et al., have offered the following explanation for the recent emergence of memory theory and the rise of the new memory studies:

> Following the decline of postwar modernist narratives of progressive improvement through an ever-expanding welfare state, nation-states turned to the past as a basis for shoring up their legitimacy. The decline of utopian visions supposedly redirected our gaze to collective pasts, which served as a repository of inspiration for repressed identities and unfulfilled claims. Without unifying collective aspirations, identity politics proliferated. And most often, these identities nursed a wound and harbored a grudge. The memory boom thus unleashed a culture of trauma and regret, and states are allegedly now judged on how well they atone for their past misdeeds rather than on how well they meet their fiscal obligations and inspire future projects . . . These transformations in political legitimatization were supposedly matched by a commercialization of nostalgia, a popularization of history, and an interest in "memory," both individual and collective.[20]

The aim of many recent works within the field of memory studies is to discover what is remembered about the past and why, how the past is remembered by different people and for what purposes, and why the past is remembered, or not remembered, in particular ways. Though this memory boom has resulted in many forms and theories of

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[19] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (January 1, 2000): 127.
[20] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 1.

memory, this thesis is primarily interested in individual memory and public memory and the interplay between the two.

Individual or autobiographical memories are those that a person retains and recalls as having been directly experienced by that individual. Individual memories, however, are not isolated or immune from social forces. Some scholars argue that memories can only form through social experience and within social frameworks. For example, Phillips asserts, "All acts of memory are inherently social—literally that to remember is to act as part of the collective."[21] Furthermore, according to Phillips, the act of "reminiscing with others" is "a primary prop of social memory; and it introduces the crucial factor of language into memory, and thus narrative and history."[22] The apparent interdependence of individual memory and social/collective memory is, assert Olick et al., "beyond any model of memory as confined to the individual mind and its representations."[23] Even scholars who argue that all acts of remembering take place at the individual level and who reject the notion of a collective memory admit that there are qualities and dimensions to memory that surpass the contribution of any single person.[24]

Unlike individual memory, public memory (and its cognates, historical memory, cultural memory, social memory, and collective memory) does not center on first-hand knowledge or experience.[25] For example, narratives about George Washington and the American Revolutionary War reside in the memories of most individual Americans. These residual events, state Olick et al., form "part of what it means to be American and is part of the collective narrative of the United States" even though nobody living has

[21] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 3.
[22] Ibid., 21.
[23] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*, 19.
[24] Ibid., 6.
[25] Ibid.

autobiographical memories of first-hand experiences with George Washington or the Revolutionary War.[26] Thus, just as autobiographical memory defines much of an individual's identity, so does public or collective memory determine the national or ethnic identity of individuals and groups.

Phillips notes public memory can be thought of as a "memory of publics," which describes "the way that memory affects and is affected by various publics."[27] In this sense, public memory occurs "in the open, in front of, and with others." These are the contemplated, interactive, and shared ways in which a public defines and reconstructs itself. Writes Phillips, "Public memory . . . allows a space wherein individuals can become public beings."[28] Contrast this with "publicness of memory," which, according to Phillips, describes, "how and why memories become public."[29] The publicness of memory describes why some memories are retained and others forgotten or manifested in certain forms and repeated in efforts to embed their meaning. This form of public memory, according to oral historians Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, is "often shaped by complicated power struggles, ranging from internal discussions about who gets to say what about a given community or experience to instruments of the state authorizing some versions of a story and silencing other ones."[30] For Hamilton and Shopes, the two forms of public memory are interrelated; they both "reveal and shape what is known among and by others," and they are both part of a "broader, often political process of public meaning-making."[31]

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 3.
[28] Ibid., 4.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1753), xv.
[31] Ibid.

Another common cognate for public, or collective, memory is *popular memory*. The Popular Memory Group at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham (England) equates popular memory with a common sense of the past and with the social production of memory. Here, everyone is a historian. Popular memory counters what some see as the appropriation of the past by professionalized history. Richard Johnson and Graham Dawson write that popular history, like popular memory, is a "collective production" in which "everyone participates, though unequally." Here, historical production is expanded "well beyond the limits of academic history-writing" to "include *all* the ways in which a sense of the past is constructed in our society." These do not necessarily take a written form nor do they necessarily "conform to academic standards of scholarship or cannons of truthfulness."[32] One important difference between popular memory and public memory is that the latter does not claim to be outside of professionalized history. Thus, popular memory is produced by practices outside of professional history writing whereas the processes and institutions that influence public memory include those involved in professionalized history.

Individual and public memory are intertwined in that each influences and is influenced by the other. Yet public memory, more so than individual memory, ensures the creation and preservation of legacies. Public memory, like individual memory, is a link to the past. However, public memory also acts to ensure a future of further collective remembering.[33] In "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," Schmitt and Leonard identify public memory as the locus of the sports postself because public memory, unlike

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[32] Richard Johnson and Graham Dawson, "Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method," in *Oral History Reader*, ed. Alistair Thomson and Robert Perks (London: Routledge, 1997). An example might be excerpts from oral histories that have been dramatized for public performance.
[33] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 17.

individual memory, is "public and shareable," just as sports acts are public and shareable.[34]

Furthermore, Schmitt and Leonard propose that sport is "uniquely equipped" to preserve the past in public memory because of the focus on achievement in the social world of sport and because of the dominancy of sport in public communication about the past, present, and future. Schmitt and Leonard propose that although "numerous features of the social world of sport" make it a perfect medium of public memory, five of these are most salient.[35]

First, records and measurements in sport chronicle an objective and actual past. Second, the physical artifacts (e.g., baseball cards, uniforms, equipment), traditions (e.g., songs, chants, symbolic gestures), and public monuments of sports (e.g., stadiums, pennants, statues, trophies) invoke nostalgia and are preserved for future generations. Third, "awards and various commemorative devices" ensure that past sports acts are reinforced in the public, in the present and in the future.[36]

Fourth, sport is organized around fundamental social rhythms and patterns—seasons, action/play, and inaction/idleness. Sports, like seasons, recur "regularly during designated periods of the year." The regular recurrence reminds people of seasons past, allows differentiation, prompts comparisons across seasons, and evokes plans and expectations for future seasons. "Media descriptions of the 1984 Olympics, for example, frequently entailed discussions of previous Olympics."[37] The quantification and standardization of time cultivates collective memory by creating common reference

[34] Schmitt and Leonard, "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," 1100.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

points like 1492 or July 4, 1776. Likewise, the quantification and standardization of time in modern sport serves to embed sports acts and events in public memory (e.g., the ninth inning of the seventh game of the 1960 World Series).[38] The special temporality of sports—their liminal quality, their link to pre-modern, agrarian time through seasons, and their link to modernity via quantification and standardization of time and emphasis on record keeping—primes them as sites of public memory.[39]

Fifth, Schmitt and Leonard argue that because sports acts take place in public and are recorded, memories of sports acts are not as easily rewritten and mythologized. "The regilding of the legend of Jim Thorpe, for instance, took seventy years. The fact that Thorpe had violated his amateur standing could not readily be disputed."[40] Thus, there is more continuity between the "implied objective past" and the "mythical past" in sports memories. This continuity enshrines and preserves sports in collective memory.[41]

Richard Cashman, in *The Bitter–Sweet Awakening: The Legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games,* proposed that memory regarding sports mega-events takes three forms: individual or private memory, spontaneous collective memory and cultivated public memory.[42] Sports legacies, then, are the combined product of all three forms of memory. In a discussion of Cashman's ideas, Horne writes:

> This begs questions about who does the sustaining of memory at the grassroots—citizens, the media or politicians—and for what ends? There can be a tendency when recalling events toward what [Cashman] calls sports mega-event 'reductionism'. Here memories are reduced to the highlights—'a few events

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[38] Ibid.

[39] See, for instance, Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[40] Schmitt and Leonard, "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," 1101.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Cashman, *The Bitter–Sweet Awakening: The Legacy of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games*.

which are repeatedly mentioned in public discourse'—and usually only the official achievements.[43]

As a reconstruction of past experience or knowledge, memory is fraught with reductionism. At best, memory is an incomplete or fragmented facsimile of the original. At worst, memory is an unrecognizable distortion. Some might say the same of history. Like memory and history, legacy cannot escape the perils of reductionism. However, because the creation and preservation of legacies relies on the dynamic interdependence of individual memory and public memory, in addition to the historical artifacts and primary sources used in professional historiography, we might conceptualize legacy as a more complex, fleshed-out history and memory, though not necessarily more or less accurate.

The interrelatedness of remembrance and forgetting is an important dimension of public memory. Current research on the science of memory holds that the two processes of remembering and forgetting are not distinct, but are, in fact, symbiotic.[44] For example, in order to remember, correctly, where your car is parked today, recall of yesterday's parking spot and of all the parking spots you've had over the last ten years must be inhibited. If it weren't, your mind would be overloaded with too many possible parking spots and you would not be able to distinguish, quickly and easily, the actual location of your car today. Therefore, the process of forgetting is actually the process of successfully learning and recalling newer information, which would not be possible without inhibited retrieval of older information. Thus, while most memory scholars agree that human

[43] Horne, "Material and Representational Legacies of Sports Mega-events: The Case of the UEFA EURO™ Football Championships from 1996 to 2008."
[44] Aaron S Benjamin and Ebooks Corporation Limited, *Successful Remembering and Successful Forgetting A Festschrift in Honor of Robert A. Bjork* (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2010), 2.

memory has infinite capacity, findings suggest that retrieval of memories is severely limited.[45]

Erll and Nunning assert, "Cultural memory is always permeated and shot through with forgetting."[46] The dynamics of individual memory and collective/public memory are similar in that they both consist "in a perpetual interaction between remembering and forgetting." Both individual and public memory, note Erll and Nunning, are limited by social and "psychological pressures, with the effect that painful or incongruent memories are hidden, displaced, overwritten, and possibly effaced." The process of forgetting is "part of social normality" where "much must be continually forgotten to make place for new information, new challenges, and new ideas to face the present and future."[47]

"If the existence of a healthy and functioning public is intertwined with its capacity for remembrance, then the gradual erosion by forgetting must represent a grave danger," writes Phillips.[48] Acts of forgetting can be intentional (e.g., artifact destruction and censorship) or unintentional (e.g., misplaced records, lost artifacts); they can be destructive or necessary and constructive elements of social transformations. For instance, some level of forgetting the Holocaust might have been necessary for some people to move forward in life. But, writes Phillips, "the dark underside of public memory—erasure, silence, forgetting" threatens to facilitate a repetition of the social conditions of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust.[49]

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Erll and Nunning, *Cultural Memory Studies*, 105.
[47] Ibid., 97.
[48] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 6.
[49] Ibid.

Legacy as canon and archive

Legacies contain elements of both canon and archive as described by Aleida Assmann in her essay, "Canon and Archive."

Here, Assmann presents cultural memory as a dialectic construction of active and passive remembering and forgetting.[50] As mapped in Figure 1, she describes canon as "cultural working memory," or "the memory of a society that defines and supports the cultural identity of a group." Assmann explains,

> The active dimension of cultural memory supports a collective identity . . . built on a small number of normative and formative texts, places, persons, artifacts, and myths which are meant to be actively circulated and communicated in ever-new presentations and performances. The working memory stores and reproduces the cultural capital of a society that is continuously recycled and re-affirmed. Whatever has made it into the active cultural memory has passed rigorous processes of selection, which secure for certain artifacts a lasting place in the cultural working memory of a society. This process is called canonization. The word means "sanctification"; to endow texts persons, artifacts, and monuments with a sanctified status is to set them off from the rest as charged with the highest meaning and value. Elements of the canon are marked by three qualities: selection, value, and duration. Selection presupposes decisions and power struggles; ascription of value endows these objects with an aura and a sacrosanct status; duration . . . is the central aim.[51]

[50] Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, Media and Cultural Memory/Medien Und Kulturelles Gedaechntnis, V. 8 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97–106.
[51] Ibid., 100.

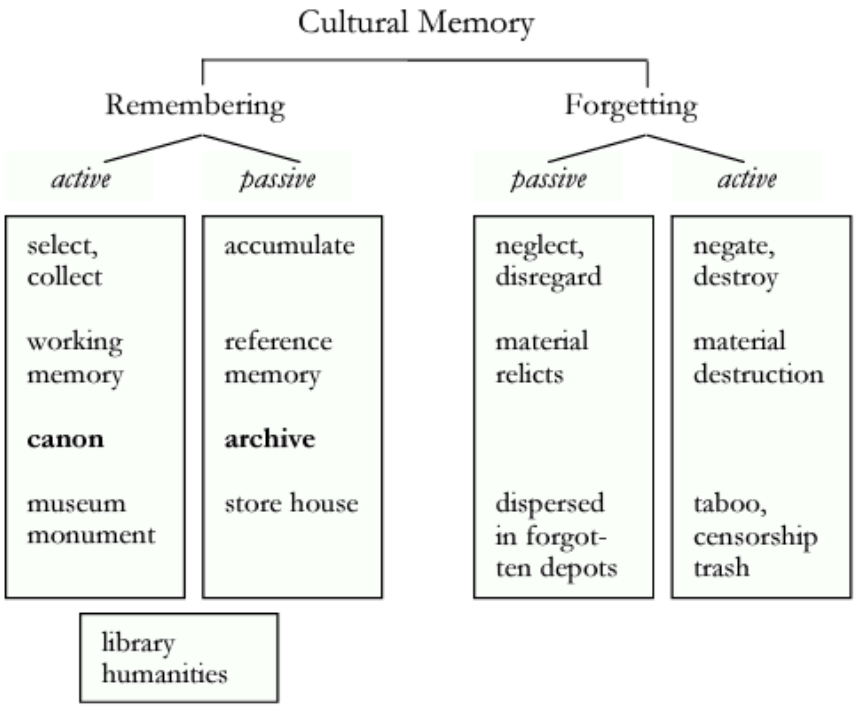

Figure 1: Diagram from Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," 2008.

In contrast to canon, or the working memory of a society, the historical archive is "the reference memory of a society" where "meta-memory" preserves "what is no longer needed or immediately understood," explains Assmann.[52] She contends that archives are the opposite of memorial sites evoked in canon and asserts that the function of the historical archive in society is to counterbalance the "reductive and restrictive" canon. Assmann explains that historical archives serve societies by providing reference points for "comparison and reflection," and for the reframing and interpretation of history. She holds that archivists and librarians are passive collectors, guides, guardians, or protectors

[52] Ibid.

of cultural memory.[53] Comparing, reframing, interpreting, reflecting and reforming are the domains of historians and politicians who use archives.

Though she reminds us that the archive, like canon, can be selective, exclusionary, and reductive, Assmann draws an important distinction between the bureaucratic, or political, archive and the historical archive:

> [Political archives] served the ruling class with the necessary information to build up provisions for the future through stockpiling. They also served as tools for the symbolic legitimization of power and to discipline the population . . . For example, the Inquisition files or the files compiled by the East German State Security (Stasi). Archives always belonged to institutions of power: the church, the state, the police, the law, etc. Without extended archives of data, there is no state bureaucracy, no strategy to organize the future and no control over the past.[54]

Historical archives, in contrast, are "receptacles for documents that have fallen out of their framing institutions," according to Assmann. She asserts that historical archives are a relatively new institution for preserving relics of the past, which are considered to be of scholarly interest, and for storing "information which is no longer of immediate use." Assmann asserts, "If power is based on the political archive, historical scholarship is based on the historical archive."[55]

Legacy as history

Explicating the dilemmas of historians and the vagaries inherent in historical discipline, sport historian Murray Phillips writes,

> The past is what has actually occurred while history is what historians make of the past. Historians can never recover the past because the content is limitless, but

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 102.
[55] Ibid., 103.

> they can offer a selection of the past; historians can never recover the past because the past is gone, but they can offer an interpretation of the past; historians can never recover the real past as they are of the present, but they can offer versions of the past viewed through the present.[56]

Given these difficulties, Murray Phillips might agree that the best way to define *history* is simply to say that it is a fluid discourse on the past. Some scholars view history as a social construction or as product of culture. Other scholars have said that history is a function or product of cultural memory. In a more traditional sense, history is a methodology for recovering, recording, and explaining the past whereas memory is both a cognitive-neurological process and a process by which people individually and collectively recall, reconstruct, and interpret the past for purposes in the present. Recently, traditional distinctions between history and memory have been called in to question. Irwin and Szurmuk write:

> In the field of history, memories are reconstructed as representations of past events. Those who write or narrate history are in charge of these reconstructions through their (conscious or unconscious) selections or representations, and because these are representations of representations, the concept of "historical truth," the truth of the narrated events recovered by the work of the historian's subjective interpretation, is problematized.[57]

Also, Kendall Phillips, in *Framing Public Memory* asserts,

> History, with its apparent claims to accuracy and objectivity, is—or at least has been—viewed as implying a singular and authentic account of the past. Memory, on the other hand, is conceived in terms of multiple, diverse, mutable, and competing accounts of past events. As claims to a singular authoritative "History" became increasingly (and rightly) untenable in the face of compelling critiques leveled by poststructural and multicultural critics, scholars turned to the notion of

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[56] Murray G. Phillips, "Public Sports History, History and Social Memory: (Re)presenting Swimming in Australia," *Sporting Traditions* 15, no. 1 (November 1998): 100.
[57] Irwin and Szurmuk, *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 217.

> memory, or perhaps more accurately "memories," as a way of understanding the complex interrelationships among past, present, and future.[58]

Historian Douglas Booth, citing Alun Munslow, writes that history has been reconceptualized as "a constructed discourse of the past;" history is "a truth-making rather than a truth-finding" in which "meaning is created rather than discovered."[59] Moreover, Booth argues that approaches to memory, recovery of the past, and interpretation of various forms of historical evidence (official documents, oral testimonies, and still and moving images) differ according to epistemological assumptions and objectives for history practice.[60] For example, the Reconstructionist approach to history seeks to discover the past as it actually was and generally views memory as flawed and unreliable. The Constructionist approach to recovery of the past emphasizes the interpretation of patterns and explanation of causes; Constructionists seek to reveal the real past through contextualization of memory within theory. The Post-modernist or Deconstructionist approach is sometimes likened to relativism. It reveals a fragmented and partial version of the past and treats memory as a "creative construction" produced in historical narrative. In this approach, remembering and forgetting are indistinct processes where the concepts of truth and falsity are obsolete.[61]

No matter the theory or approach one chooses in scholarship, there is no doubt that the recent boom in memory discourse over the last thirty years has radically reshaped

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[58] Phillips, *Framing Public Memory*, 2.
[59] Douglas Booth, "Sport History and the Seeds of a Postmodern Discourse.," *Rethinking History* 13, no. 2 (June 2009): 154; Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies* (Taylor & Francis, 2006): 10.
[60] Douglas Booth, "Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History.," *Rethinking History* 9, no. 4 (December 2005): 459–483.
[61] Ibid.

historiography.[62] While recent scholarship on the relationships between history and memory frequently centers on distinctions and interactions among various conceptual frameworks (e.g., private and public history/memory, local and national history/memory) there is still significant confusion about the true form and function of the history-memory conjunction: history *and* memory, history *or* memory, or history *as* memory? Klein notes,

> Much current historiography pits memory against history even though few authors openly claim to be engaged in building a world in which memory can serve as an alternative to history. Indeed, the declaration that history and memory are not really opposites has become one of the clichés of our new memory discourse. In preface after preface, an author declares that it would be simplistic to imagine memory and history as antitheses and then proceeds to use the words in antithetical ways in the body of the monograph. Such disclaimers have little effect on the ways in which the words work. Where history is concerned, memory increasingly functions as antonym rather than synonym, contrary rather than complement and replacement rather than supplement.

In an article about distinguishing memory from the past, Elliott Gorn equates memory with myth and the "cheap emotions" of nostalgia. According to Gorn, memory entails forgetting or denying the past; memory retains only that which is simple, sentimental, flattering, pleasant, and marketable while true history is born of a real and sometimes painful knowledge of the past:

> Isn't memory just one more version of the past, as good as any other? Memory sometimes contains elements of a reasonable interpretation. The problem is that memory does not subject itself to scrutiny. It shuns the rough-and-tumble of scholarly infighting, the questioning of hypotheses, skewering of logic, probing of primary sources. Memory sits serenely above the fray, satisfied in its nostalgia. Both history and memory are ideological, but the former, practiced well, is aware

[62] Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse."

> and critical of its own ideological assumptions; memory blithely asserts its untroubled truths.[63]

Gorn's view of memory and history is logocentric; it dismisses pre-literate and oral cultures whose forms of knowledge transfer are non-literate and non-archival. Gorn seems to forget that when primary sources are fragmented, incomplete, lost, intentionally destroyed, or were never created in the first place, memory might stand as the only defense against denial and revision. In these instances, memory has the potential to serve as a supplement; memory can be of some practical use not only to the public but to professional historians as well. Furthermore, scholarship in the new memory studies proves that memory can be probed and subjected to scrutiny; memory is, in fact, the subject of much self-critique and scholarly infighting.[64]

In Gorn's version of memory *vs*. history we either blindly idolize, nostalgically idealize, and consume an oversimplified, sanitized memory *or* we investigate and confront the complicated, contradictory, and sometimes painful truths of the past. I counter that legacies, located at the intersection of memory and history, offer more complexity than either history or memory alone. The legacy of Muhamed Ali serves as an example. Ali is reproduced and consumed as nostalgia in motivational posters, movies, and Gatorade commercials. Yet, at the sites where public memory is produced—including the popular press as well as Gorn's books—some remember Ali as an eloquent hero and others as a vain and querulous braggart.[65] Ali's legacy encapsulates this

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[63] Elliott J. Gorn, "Professing History: Distinguishing Between Memory and the Past," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 28, 2000, sec. The Chronicle Review, http://chronicle.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/article/Professing-History-/4237/.

[64] See for example, Michael Frisch, Paula Hamilton, and Alistair Thomson, "The Memory and History Debates: Some International Perspectives," *Oral History* 22, no. 2 (1994): 33–43.

[65] See Elliott J. Gorn, *Muhammad Ali, the People's Champ* (University of Illinois Press, 1998). Also see Laurence Chalip, "Celebrity or Hero? Toward a Conceptual Framework for Athlete Promotion," citing

dichotomy; his legacy mythologizes his victories and simplifies his motives but it does not entirely erase his failures nor does it silence the criticisms of his detractors.

Legacy as contested terrain

Legacies evolve from contradictory primary sources, competing narratives, and divergent interpretations. Legacies mythologize and engage in reductionism but they might also serve real history through the many primary source documents, records, images, and material artifacts that inevitably become part of a legacy collection.

In a discussion of the "material and representational legacies of sports mega-events," John Horne writes:

> One of the most powerful discursive resources utilized to frame sports mega-events in the past two decades has been that of 'legacy' . . . What might be called 'legacy talk' has been increasingly incorporated into the validation of the sports mega-event by organizers. Legacies—both material and symbolic—have thus become the battlefield on which boosters and skeptics engage in semiotic struggle . . . Yet legacy is a warm word, sounding positive.[66]

Sports legacies need not be sentimentalized. Although legacy may be a "warm word, sounding positive," sports historians and sociologists frequently use the term to connote lasting negative effects, as in the legacy of apartheid, the legacy of imperialism, and the Cold War legacy. As Horne suggests, legacies can be battlegrounds; they are contested sites of historical reconstruction and interpretation where the most prevalent representations may differ from those produced by other groups or individuals. Observe

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Arthur Daley, "A Boy on a Man's Errand," *New York Times* (New York, NY, February 23, 1964); Peter Fuller, *The Champions: The Secret Motives in Games and Sport* (Allen Lane, 1978); Robert Lipsyte and Peter Levine, *Idols of the Game: a Sporting History of the American Century* (Turner Pub., 1995); Herb Nipson, "How Good Is Cassius Clay?," *Ebony*, April 1964.

[66] Horne, "Material and Representational Legacies of Sports Mega-events: The Case of the UEFA EURO™ Football Championships from 1996 to 2008."

Schmitt and Leonard, "Athletes and their audiences are aware that failure as well as success is remembered in the world of sport. The social processes that foster the postself in history cast it in a favorable or an unfavorable light."[67] The very public, competitive, measurement-driven nature of modern sport guarantees some failure.[68] Thus, the structure of modern sports reifies sports legacies as contested terrain. This theme was examined in Roessner's article about the legacy of baseball great Ty Cobb:

> Over the course of the twentieth century, museum curators, journalists, former players, former acquaintances, and fans engaged in a cultural struggle of Cobb's legacy. This memory struggle took place in mass-mediated sites such as the *Sporting News* and the *Atlanta Constitution* as individuals—whether sports columnists or fans—shared their remembrances of their (anti-) hero . . . Articles in these two publications—as sites of public memory—served to reaffirm and contest this dominant image . . . This study reveals that the negotiation of local and national memory involves a complex reciprocal relationship.[69]

Conceptualizing sports legacies

This thesis places sports legacies at the intersection of sports memory and sports history. Sports memory is the confluence of individual, or autobiographical, memory and collective memory. Collective memory includes public memory, historical memory, cultural memory, social memory, and popular memory, as well as sites of public memory (e.g., the popular press, mass media, monuments, museums, stadiums, etc.). Sports history includes all of the various ways that a sense of the sporting past is produced. This includes public sports history and professional, or academic, sports history as well as a variety of historical methodologies. Sports legacies may also be the symbolic, intangible

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[67] Schmitt and Leonard, "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," 1097.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Roessner, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero."

contributions made to a society or a culture by sports events or figures. Concern for embedding representations of sports figures in history or in the future, the postself, also contributes to the making of sports legacies, which are a sort of symbolic immortality.

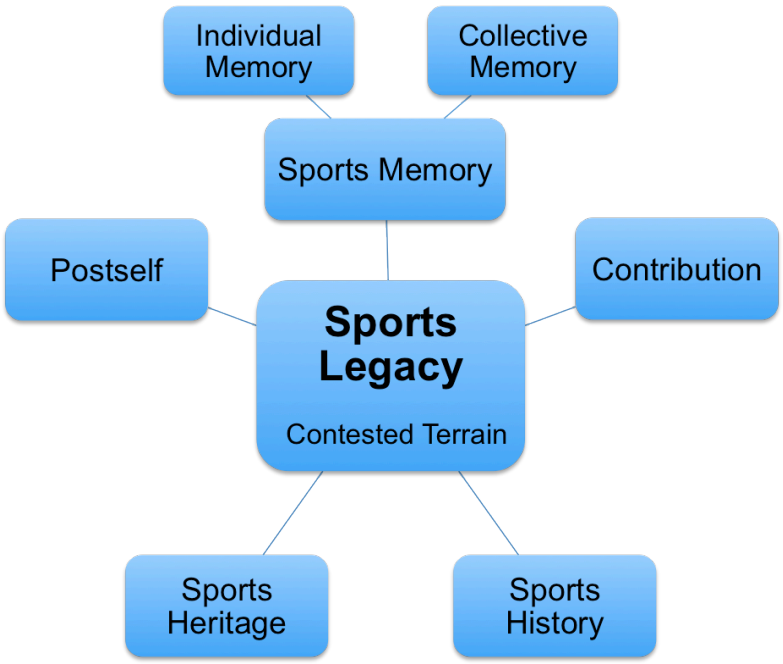

Figure 2: The author's conceptualization of *sports legacy*.

Chapter Three: The Value of Sports Legacies

What is the value of sports legacies and why preserve them? Why would individual athletes or a sports team want to preserve their legacies and how might they and others benefit? This thesis illuminates the value of sports legacies and examines the rationale and potential boons of sports legacy preservation. As exemplified in the excerpt that follows, sports legacies are just as important to societies and communities as they are to sports participants, their families, and their fans.

In *All That Glitters Is Not Gold: The Olympic Game,* William O. Johnson wrote:

> To the world, Olympic heroes tend to stay suspended in amber at their moment of victory. There they are, flushed with youth, exalted by triumph, crystallized in time like a work of art—afloat above a crossbar. Perhaps our own intimations of death are held at bay by the image of other mortals preserved as eternally young. Perhaps that is the essence of the Olympics—a single, intense, splendidly theatrical instant of triumph shared by competitor and spectator alike. There are the medals stamped from some precious metal, hymns, and flags and transcendent applause—it is so fleeting, yet so beautiful that it can only be called perfect.[1]

[1] William O. Johnson, *All That Glitters Is Not Gold: The Olympic Game* (Putnam, 1972).

Figure 3: Dick Fosbury sets an Olympic record of 2.24 meters. Photo from The Official Report of the Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad. Mexico 1968, Volume 3: The Games (Mexico, 1968), 86.

Sports legacies' importance to societies and communities

> Sports may be among the most powerful human expressions in all history. — Gerald Early, Distinguished Professor, Washington University, St. Louis (1998)

Sports sociologist Jay Coakley suggests that sports participation and sports spectatorship are a major part of social life for many people; "sports reaffirm important ideas and beliefs in many societies;" and sports are integrated into almost every major sphere of social life—family, gender, race and ethnicity, social class, the economy, the media, politics and governments, schools, and religions.[2] Undeniably, sports are central to the social and cultural worlds we inhabit. Deeply embedded cultural symbols imbue sports with significant affective meanings for participants and spectators alike. Sports events, sports teams, and individual athletes engender strong interest and emotional

[2] Jay Coakley, *Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies* (McGraw-Hill, 2008), 3.

responses in many individuals and groups. Sports are sometimes a means by which we signify and solidify individual and group identity and they are a primary medium for social bonding and communication among diverse peoples.[3] Sports, and therefore sports legacies, fulfill core emotional/psychological needs including: validation (self-esteem, companionship, identity, and group affiliation); pleasure (entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment); and excitement (stimulation, escape, eustress, relief from boredom).[4] Writes Coakley:

> [Sports are] important parts of social life that have meanings going far beyond scores and performance statistics. Sports are integral parts of the social and cultural contexts in which we live, and they provide stories and images that many of us use to evaluate our experiences and the world around us.[5]

Sports, as central to the social and cultural worlds in which we live, are key components of cultural, social, and public memory. If memory is essential to identity and if sports are a means by which people signify and solidify individual and group identity, then sports in collective memory, or sports memory, is also essential to individual and group identity, including national identity and unity.[6] Writing about public memory and national identity, Ute Seydel explained,

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[3] See Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, "The Psychology of Fandom: Understanding the Etiology, Motives, and Implications of Fanship," in *Consumer Behavior Knowledge for Effective Sports and Event Marketing*, by Lynn R. Kahle and Angeline Close (Taylor & Francis, 2010); Chalip, "The Construction and Use of Polysemic Structrues: Olympic Lessons for Sport Marketing." Chalip, "Celebrity or Hero? Toward a Conceptual Framework for Athlete Promotion."

[4] Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, "The Psychology of Fandom: Understanding the Etiology, Motives, and Implications of Fanship," in *Consumer Behavior Knowledge for Effective Sports and Event Marketing*, by Lynn R. Kahle and Angeline Close (Taylor & Francis, 2010), 74.

[5] Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 4.

[6] See, for example, discussions on the relationships between history, memory, and identity, especially national identity, in Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, "History, Memory, Identity," in *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 177–242.

> For the formation of a national culture it is also essential to have a common history that is conserved and updated in the collective historical memory . . . In the places where memory is preserved—monuments, commemorative spaces, school manuals for the teaching of history, holiday calendars, mottos, foundational texts and discourses—the memory of a nation is condensed and crystallized.[7]

A national culture and identity is shaped by a common sports history that is preserved and reaffirmed in the collective sports memory. Noted Annemarie Jutel, "Sport is an important tool for imagining nationhood. It is a perfect forum for constructing identity."[8] Sports legacies, then, as the confluence of culture, sports history, and sports memory are important because of the key role they play in informing identity and unity in societies. In preserving the legacies of its national sports heroes and sports teams, a nation is conserving part of its national cultural heritage.

For example, by preserving baseball legacies, we construct a national identity, a collective sense of what it means to be an American. The National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum in Cooperstown, New York uses baseball's past to reconstruct and reaffirm "the American experience." The site proclaims that it is "preserving history," "honoring excellence," and "connecting generations."[9] To be sure, this is exactly what it means to preserve sports legacies. The museum in Cooperstown, as a site of public sports memory, is preserving the legacies of American baseball teams as well as individual players and coaches. In doing so, Cooperstown both reproduces and informs American cultural memory in the present and for generations of future Americans.

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[7] Ute Seydel, paraphrasing Piere Nora's *Rethinking France = Les Lieux De Mémoire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 7, in "Nation," in *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, by Robert M Irwin and Mónica Szurmuk, 1st ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 237.
[8] Annemarie Jutel (2002) in Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 446.
[9] National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, "Baseballhall.org", April 5, 2012, http://baseballhall.org/.

The former president of Cuba, Fidel Castro, said in 2001, "We have waged a lengthy and tireless battle to create a [revolutionary] sports culture . . .This is what has allowed our country to reach a place of honour in sports . . . recognized by the entire world."[10] Similarly, a former Olympic boxing coach for the Cuban national team, said, "Boxing is well suited to the Cuban character: we are brave, resolute, selfless. We have strong convictions and clear definition. We are pugnacious and we like to fight."[11]

Though sports in many parts of the world may be more a vehicle for commercialism and corporate ideology, "governments have not stopped using sports to promote values consistent with ideologies that support their interests," asserts Alcides Sagarra.[12] The Olympic Games, in particular, notes Sagarra, are viewed as opportunities for host countries "to present themselves favorably to their own citizens and the rest of the world."[13]

Writing about national identity and the Olympic movement, Thomas M. Hunt noted,

> Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, the Olympic movement had been marked by a curious intermingling of nationalist elements alongside a broader internationalist mission. The father of the modern Olympics, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, believed, for instance, that nationalism should maintain a prominent place in Olympic competition.[14]

Admittedly, nationalism is such an integral feature of the modern Olympic Games that when a proposal to curb nationalism through elimination of symbols of national

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[10] Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 437.
[11] Alcides Sagarra in Reuters, 2004, in Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 447.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Thomas M. Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960-2008* (University of Texas Press, 2011), 38.

identity (e.g., national anthems and uniforms) was put before the International Olympic Committee in 1956, it met with "almost unanimous opposition."[15] As rationale for their decision, the proposal's opponents cited the Olympic Oath taken by athletes at the Games: "We swear to compete . . . for the honor and the glory of our country."[16]

The preservation of sports legacies may find support in the Olympic Movement. Vice versa, Olympism may be propelled by sports legacies. The Olympic Charter outlines the "Fundamental Principles of Olympism:"

> Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility . . . The Olympic Movement is the concerted, organised, universal and permanent action . . . of all individuals and entities who are inspired by the values of Olympism . . . It reaches its peak with the bringing together of the world's athletes at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games . . . The practice of sport is a human right.[17]

Sports legacies and their preservation blend sport with culture and they celebrate the joy of effort. Certainly, sports legacies can be inspirational and described as "educational value of good example." Sports legacies, like the Olympic Movement, depend on organized collective action and public memory for permanence in history. Like the practice of sport, memory and commemoration is a human right.

According to the Olympic Charter, "The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity."[18] Of course, sports

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[15] "Concerning the excessive Display of Nationalism," *Bulletin du Comité International Olympique (Olympic Review)*, 1956 February No. 53 p. 62-63.
[16] Ibid.
[17] International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Charter" (International Olympic Committee, July 2011), 10, http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf.
[18] Ibid.

and the Olympic Games have been placed at the service of far more sinister ends than these. For instance, the Nazi party used the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin to showcase Nordic supremacy by winning more than four times as many medals as any other country captured during those games.[19] Yet, it is at such sites of contested ideology that sports legacies are born. Coakley explains, "This is why the outstanding performance of Jesse Owens, an African American, was so important to countries aligned against Germany at that point in history. Owens's four gold medals and world records challenged Hitler's ideology of Nordic supremacy."[20] Even now, more than three quarters of a century after Owens's historic performance, his legacy still represents strides toward equality and victory over fascism for many Americans.

As suggested by some sociologists, popular spectator sports function in America to maintain the status-quo organization of society and to alleviate social anxiety through the reproduction and reaffirmation of dominant socio-cultural, economic/class, and political ideologies.[21] One function of sports legacies, then, must also be the reproduction and reaffirmation of social narratives and ideologies. However, because legacies are contested terrain, sports legacies oppose and resist some ideologies even as they support others. This makes sports legacies and their negotiation, preservation, and contestation, important to many people, groups, and societies.

The legacy of Jesse Owens, like all legacies, is complex, contradictory, and sometimes ironic. At the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, Owens was commissioned by the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) to serve as an "athlete's

[19] Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 447.
[20] Ibid.
[21] See Coakley, *Sports in Society*.

representative."[22] He gave a motivational speech to the U.S. team before the Games began. Tommie Smith, the winner of the 200 meter race at the 1968 Games, who is also remembered for his raised fist protest against racial inequality on the victory stand, had this to say about Owens and his legacy:

> The great Jesse Owens became great because he showed the world how wrong Nazism and Hitler were, right to Hitler's face . . . America latched onto that story, because it proved that the American way was better than the Nazi way . . . But Jesse Owens, that black man, still returned to this country as a second-class citizen, unable to eat in certain restaurants or hold certain jobs and reduced to racing horses to earn money . . . But that sure isn't something that is taught to the children when the story of Jesse Owens is told. The story white people do tell about him might fit him neatly into their system, but just because they say it's true . . . doesn't mean it is. And in the long run Jesse Owens' athletic supremacy did him no good when measured against his black skin in this society.[23]

The popular and much loved Jim Thorpe was named "the greatest American football player" and "the greatest overall male athlete" in 1950 despite having been punished and dishonored in 1913 by the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States (AAU) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for violations of Olympic regulations on amateurism. Thorpe and his accomplishments have long been remembered and celebrated by Americans though the IOC tried to erase Thorpe from public memory by stripping him of his Olympic medals and removing his name from the record books. Though Thorpe afterwards enjoyed a long and successful career in professional baseball and football, he died in a trailer, alcoholic and penniless, at the age of sixty-six having tried, unsuccessfully, before he died to sell the burial rites to his body for $300.[24] After a

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[22] Tommie Smith and David Steele, *Silent Gesture: The Autobiography of Tommie Smith* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 168.
[23] Ibid., 120.
[24] Kate Buford, *Native American Son: The Life and Sporting Legend of Jim Thorpe* (Random House Digital, Inc., 2010), 361.

long public campaign by Thorpe's family and friends to restore his Olympic legacy, the IOC finally relented in 1983, restoring Thorpe's medals and records to him posthumously, and thus officially restoring Thorpe's Olympic legacy in public memory.[25]

While Thorpe's legacy was obviously very important to his friends and family, it also was (and still is) important to the American public for ideological reasons. For instance, the restoration of Thorpe's Olympic medals was viewed by some as a political/publicity stunt, coinciding with the ramp up to the 1984 Games in Los Angeles.[26] Currently, Thorpe's image can be seen on thousands of "Pass it On" campaign billboards across the United States. The campaign is funded by the Foundation for a Better Life, whose website is Values.com. Ostensibly, the mission of the foundation is to "promote positive values" because "the values we live by are worth more when we pass them on."[27] The foundation's founder, Philip Anschutz, is a seventy-two year-old American businessman and conservative Christian. Anschutz, whose corporation controls several sports teams and sports venues including the NBA's Lakers, the L.A. Galaxy soccer team, and the Staples Center, has an estimated net worth of seven billion dollars.[28]

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[25] See, for Jim Thorpe biography, Buford, *Native American Son*.
[26] Ibid., 375.
[27] The Foundation for a Better Life, "Jim Thorpe Excellence Billboard," *Values.com*, n.d., http://www.values.com/inspirational-sayings-billboards/17-Excellence.
[28] "Philip Anschutz - Forbes," *Forbes.com*, April 8, 2012, http://www.forbes.com/profile/philip-anschutz/.

Figure 4: Billboard produced by The Foundation for a Better Life, "Jim Thorpe Excellence Billboard," *Values.com*, http://www.values.com/inspirational-sayings-billboards/17-Excellence.

Thorpe's accomplishments in sports reproduce and reaffirm American beliefs and values—character, hard work, and individual achievement through competition lead to triumph over any socioeconomic hardship and misfortune. Thorpe is a symbol of the American Dream and the ability of American meritocracy to win against Old World elitism. Thorpe's longtime status as an All-American hero, despite his Olympic scandal, illustrates how American ideology was at odds during the first half to the twentieth century with that of the AAU and IOC. However, the restoration of Thorpe's Olympic legacy in 1983 signaled a change in IOC ideology, which was brought about, in part, by a change in IOC leadership.[29]

Just as national sports culture, sports memory, and sports legacies contribute to the formation of a national identity and unity, regional sports culture and sports legacies can also create a sense of *communitas*. The preservation of Jim Thorpe's legacy, for example, is not only of national importance but has also been a rallying point and site of

[29] Buford, *Native American Son*, 375. IOC President Avery Brundage was opposed to relaxing IOC rules on amateurism. After he retired in 1972, the restoration of Thorpe's Olympic legacy began in earnest.

contention for three different communities. Thorpe's body is interred in Jim Thorpe, Pennsylvania. Though Thorpe never visited the place, the town was named in his honor and his grave has been a tourist attraction and source of community pride for over fifty years. Some members of Thorpe's family, who are also prominent members of a Native American community, want Thorpe's body repatriated to his native Oklahoma. One family spokesperson said, "The issue has long since transcended the status of family matter to one that affects all Native Americans."[30] The legacy symbolized by Thorpe's body is a glue that binds each community even as it creates tension between communities.

Similarly, Lori Amber Roessner measures the national significance of Ty Cobb's against the importance his legacy holds for a small community in Georgia:

> In national lore, Cobb . . . is remembered as "an angry genius in spikes," who delighted in spearing innocent infielders. Legend has it that the curators of the National Baseball Hall of Fame in the late 1930s, after hanging up a pair of his razor-sharp cleats, said "That takes care of Ty Cobb. Now, let's see who else belongs in the Hall." Though his national image as baseball's preeminent villain at times has overshadowed his feats on the diamond, he is often remembered in a juxtaposing light in Georgia as the greatest hitter of all-time, a misunderstood warrior turned philanthropist. At the Ty Cobb Museum in his hometown of Royston, visitors immediately encounter a wall lined with more than 100 Louisville Slugger bats engraved with the most memorable feats of his career, a far cry from the Cooperstown's display, which centers on his base-running feats. Tucked into a wing of the Ty Cobb Health Care System, the museum highlights his altruistic outreach such as the Ty Cobb Educational Foundation and thank-you letters serving as a testament to his benevolence.[31]

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[30] Jim Thorpe Chamber of Commerce, Jim Thorpe, PA, "A Take on the Jim Thorpe Controversy, Community, Jim Thorpe Burial – 2 Sides to Every Story," *Jim Thorpe, PA—What's Going On: Inside Information for Jim Thorpe, PA*, June 29, 2010, http://www.jimthorpe.org/blog/.

[31] Roessner, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero," 83.

University sports, and college football programs in particular, have been credited with building a sense of community in and around universities. An article published in the *Journal of Sport Management*, Roy, et al. explains:

> College football is more than a sport at many universities across the United States; it is part of the culture of participating institutions as well as part of the nation's popular culture . . . Students, faculty, alumni, and friends of universities come together as part of a social experience . . .Identifying with an institution's football team can be instrumental in building bonds between students and an institution that will extend for years beyond their time on campus. Football games give alumni reasons to return to campus and rekindle friendships and form new friendships. Alumni who remain connected to their alma maters are potential donors to athletic and academic programs and may be influential in their children's choice of college to attend. Football provides a vehicle for an institution to connect with residents of nearby communities. People who may not have ties to an institution may identify with it through its football team, and a football team can be a source of civic pride.[32]

College football builds community by drawing on a sense of the social past (alumni), creating social experiences in the present (fans in current season), and forging social bonds for the future (future alumni and the children of fans). As a community institution with an extended public past and future, people may find comfort in connecting to a university and its football program (win or lose) because it is something greater and more permanent than themselves. Universities are wise to invest in and capitalize on the sense of community created by college sports programs.

University-sponsored preservation of sports legacies is one ingenious method by which some universities may seek to maximize community-building investment and rewards. Some universities currently preserve their sports legacies via university sports

[32] Donald P. Roy, Timothy R. Graeff, and Susan K. Harmon, "Repositioning a university through NCAA Division I-A football membership.," *Journal of Sport Management* 22, no. 1 (2008): 11–12.

history publications, physical and virtual exhibits, monuments, memorials, placards, halls of fame, and special awards and celebrations to commemorate important sports events and figures in university sports history. All of these add to a sense of community and connection with the university through history and place. Although research results are equivocal as to whether successful football seasons lead to increases in monetary donations, student applications are positively impacted due to improved media exposure and public perception, and these lead to increased revenue generation and academic quality at the university.[33] It is clear that enhanced public perception of universities, vis-à-vis their football programs, produce both tangible and intangible benefits for universities. Therefore, it would be an interesting and worthwhile study to compare application rates and alumni donations for universities actively preserving and promoting their sports legacies against those who do not.

In an article on the value of sports history scholarship, Oriard and Gorn wrote,

> C.L.R. James was so convinced of the importance of sports that he declared cricket and soccer to be "the greatest cultural influences in 19th-century Britain." As James so brilliantly demonstrated, the study of sport can take us to the very heart of critical issues in the study of culture and society.[34]

In a similar vein, Roessner explains the value sports legacies hold for historians and for those who study culture:

> If scholars fail to examine the importance of sports media history and icons such as Cobb, there is a risk of misunderstanding American culture, within which sport is inextricably linked . . . Historians ignore the extent to which popular culture

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[33] See Roy, Graeff, and Harmon, "Repositioning a university through NCAA Division I-A football membership."

[34] C.L.R. James was a sociologist and renowned West Indian cricket player. Quote taken from Michael Oriard and Eliott J. Gorn, "Taking Sports Seriously," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 24, 1995, sec. Archives, http://chronicle.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/article/Taking-Sports-Seriously/83703/.

> impacts a society's attitudes and values. Individuals in society continuously reinterpret popular culture icons through public memory.[35]

Forged from the interwoven threads of sports history and popular media, culture, and icons, the sports legacies of a society inform us about a society's past and present culture, attitudes, and values. Sports legacies, according to Roessner, serve as "a model of and for society that both reflects the past and serves as a frame of understanding in the present."[36] The examination and preservation of sports legacies is important not only to communities, popular culture, and society in general, but to a variety of professional disciplines as well. These include journalists, filmmakers, academic scholars, archivists, and other library and museum professionals.

According to Mike Messner, a sports sociologist at the University of Southern California, "Sports are . . . a multi-billion dollar business that saturates the mass media. . . School activities and year books point to sport's centrality in the social life of schools."[37] Just as popular spectator sports can sometimes prove enormously profitable, assuredly, there are potential economic benefits to be gained from preserving sports legacies. An historic document detailing the thirteen original rules of basketball, written 119 years ago by James Naismith, recently sold at auction for more than $4 million.[38] Sports museums and halls of fame, fantasy sports camps, sports tourism, and the sports memorabilia industries must certainly owe much of their existence and economic sustenance to fan and community interest in sports legacies.

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[35] Roessner, "Remembering 'The Georgia Peach': Popular Press, Public Memory, and the Shifting Legacy of an (Anti) Hero," 91.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 3.
[38] Associated Press, New York, "Naismith's 1st Basketball Rules Sell for $4M-plus," *ESPN.com*, December 10, 2010., http://sports.espn.go.com/ncb/news/story?id=5905757.

Undoubtedly, audience interest in sports is immense; the 1968 Olympics, the first to be widely televised in color, received 4.5 million dollars in television rights fees and reached an estimated 600 million global viewers.[39] Cumulative data from Nielsen as of March 1, 2008 shows that twenty-one of the twenty-five highest viewed television programs of all time have been sports events, specifically the Super Bowl and the Winter Olympics, each reaching an estimated 45.7 million households.[40] NBC will pay an estimated $1.2 billion in television rights fees for the 2012 London Olympics; that broadcasting company outbid Fox and ESPN for the television rights to the next four Olympic Games at a cost of $4.38 billon.[41] Films and publishers have also banked on audience interest in sports and athletes since the early twentieth century.[42]

Sports legacies' importance to fans

One reason that the media are able to generate and hold large audiences for sports events is their ability to capitalize on the stock of sports legacies. In other words, the media's ability to construct a sense of the sporting past captivates audiences because it connects them to history, to something greater than themselves, and to a time beyond the limited present.[43] Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, in their journal article "The Psychology of Fandom," noted,

> When the salience of one's mortality is increased, sports fans identify more strongly with their sports teams. In other words, when confronted with the inevitability of their own death, fans clung to their team allegiances, arguably in

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[39] Nancy Kay Rivenburgh and James F. Larson, *Television in the Olympics* (James F. Larson, 1995), 213.
[40] Coakley, *Sports in Society*, 413.
[41] Stephen Wilson, Associated Press, June 7, 2011, accessed at http://nbcsports.msnbc.com.
[42] See Deborah V. Tudor, *Hollywood's Vision of Team Sports: Heroes, Race, and Gender* (Taylor & Francis, 1997) and Michael K. Bohn, *Heroes & Ballyhoo: How the Golden Age of the 1920s Transformed American Sports* (Potomac Books, Inc., 2009).
[43] Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, "The Psychology of Fandom: Understanding the Etiology, Motives, and Implications of Fanship."

an attempt to grasp hold of something that would extend beyond their own existence.[44]

Sports fans can achieve the same connections through sports legacies. The media depicts athletes as celebrities and legends and it uses the symbols and narratives of heroes, spectacle, ritual, and festival.[45] These media tactics and techniques reiterate deeply embedded cultural and psychological schemas through which many people derive emotional stimulation and satisfaction.[46] Sports legacies, then, offer audiences a continuation or reminder of these feelings.

Journalist Richard Lipsky, in *How We Play the Game: Why Sports Dominate American Life*, connects the creation and veneration of sports heroes to the prominent place of success and winning through competition in American culture. According to Lipsky, athletic competition dramatizes for the sports fan, emotional crisis and symbolic struggle against disorder in society, brought about by "any threat to moral and community values."[47] The athlete, as the symbolic hero of the dramatic crisis, is the "fan's life raft in this situation. His courage disposes of the threat of humiliation and chaos, and symbolizes the possibility of human control."[48]

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[44] Ibid., 73, referencing research by M. Dechesne et al., "Terror Management and the Vicissitudes of Sports Fan Affiliation: The Effects of Mortality Salience on Optimism and Fan Identification," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30 (2000): 813–835.
[45] Chalip, "The Construction and Use of Polysemic Structrues: Olympic Lessons for Sport Marketing."
[46] Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, "The Psychology of Fandom: Understanding the Etiology, Motives, and Implications of Fanship;" Chalip, "The Construction and Use of Polysemic Structrues: Olympic Lessons for Sport Marketing."
[47] Richard Lipsky, *How We Play the Game: Why Sports Dominate American Life* (Beacon Press, 1981), 103.
[48] Ibid.

Edward Edinger outlines the athlete-hero as a byproduct of ancient Greek sacramental drama and ritual contests.[49] Today, there is still an association in Western culture between athletic activity and classical/mythological heroic activity. Even the hall of fame, perhaps the most popular method by which we memorialize athletes and preserve sports legacies, claims a direct lineage from the Valhalla of Norse mythology.[50]

Writing in *Baseball and American Culture*, Edward J. Rielly describes the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York: "Entering the actual Hall of Fame, that Valhalla where bronze plaques honor and enshrine forever the game's immortals, the visitor immediately understands the religious elements of the game and the place."[51] In the media, athletes are routinely imagined and portrayed in the language of classical heroic mythology.[52] Sports team and athlete narratives frequently follow—whether consciously or unconsciously—the model identified and described by Joseph Campbell in his renowned work on global patterns of heroic archetypes and mythology:

> The hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.[53]

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[49] Edward Edinger, "The Tragic Hero: An Image of Individuation," *Parabola* 1 (Winter 1976): 68; also see Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*.

[50] Valhalla literally translates to "Hall of the Slain," a sort of exalted version of the Christian heaven reserved for warriors slain in battle, from Micha F. Lindemans, "Valhalla," *Encyclopedia Mythica from Encyclopedia Mythica Online*. http://www.pantheon.org/articles/v/valhalla.html, (Accessed April 11, 2012). The first "hall of fame" as we currently know them may have been the Walhalla in Bavaria, Germany. See Adalbert Müller, *Donaustauf and Walhalla* (Printed by G. J. Manz, 1846).

[51] Edward J. Rielly, *Baseball and American Culture: Across the Diamond* (Psychology Press, 2003), 158.

[52] See Tudor, *Hollywood's Vision of Team Sports*, 3–75; also see Laurence Chalip, "The Construction and Use of Polysemic Structrues: Olympic Lessons for Sport Marketing" and Chalip, "Celebrity or Hero? Toward a Conceptual Framework for Athlete Promotion."

[53] Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Third. (New World Library, 2008), 30.

Sports legacies, like heroes, are mortal people whose talent and publicly lived lives transport them to a "region of wonder" where they encounter "fabulous forces" against which they struggle in athletic competition to win a "decisive victory." Sports legacies are the "boons bestowed on fellow man" by the athlete, team, or sports event; these "boons" may take a variety of forms but are usually symbolic and intangible.

Past sports events, sport teams, and individual team members may hold special significance to audiences/sports fans for a variety of reasons. Through the social experience of fanship, people form emotional bonds with athletes and sports teams and they associate strong or pleasant emotions with certain sports events. Schmitt and Leonard contend,

> Athletes are not the only ones who are immortalized for participating in memorable athletic performances. The fame or discredit that accrues to them may extend to their families and friends, to other aspects of the sport act, and, probably, to some of their fans. The visibleness of the sport act facilitates and underscores the emotional unity that sometimes occurs between self and other. The self is boundless, and complete emotional identification can occur. Biological expansiveness indicates that persons can "become one" with members of their line. It is more difficult to accept the reality of fans living on through the deeds of athletes or teams; fans have not directly participated in teams' performances and are not personally acquainted with players. Fans do, however, "bask in the reflected glory" of athletes and teams and, we suspect, share in their postselves in some instances.[54]

The publicness of sports acts and athletes removes the barrier of otherness and creates not only loyalty and admiration but also a sense of self-identification with athletes and teams. This is the means by which people experience the actions of athletes as belonging to themselves and the means by which people participate vicariously in sports

[54] Schmitt and Leonard, "Immortalizing the Self Through Sport," 1103.

acts. Fans often abandon their own self-identities and become the sports figure that, glorified by the media, is perceived by the public as being better than ordinary people.[55] Hirt and Clarkson noted that sports fans "satisfy their self-esteem needs not only by direct means . . . but also by indirect means" in the form of BIRGing, which is basking in reflected glory, or feeling intense pride in the accomplishments of favorite athletes and sports teams.[56] Naturally, people want to maintain these feelings and relationships beyond the limited present through remembrance and by securing continued symbolic existence in collective memory; in other words, people want to preserve sports legacies.

Sports legacies' importance to athletes

The preservation of sports legacies, as a form of symbolic immortality or as an intangible contribution to society, is important to individual athletes and their friends and families. Preserving the legacy of a sports team or sports event likewise facilitates public commemoration and imbues the team or the event with symbolic immortality; a sports team or sports event continues to exist (at least symbolically) in the present for however long the team or event lives in public memory. Understandably, this is a great boon and comfort to many people for a variety of reasons. Who among us does not want to leave his mark on history or leave something of ourselves behind for others to remember us by? Who among us does not want to be remembered, appreciated, and celebrated by family and friends? Families and friends often want to maintain social and emotional connections to loved ones for as long as possible. Athletes and their families and friends are no different; therefore it is easy to imagine why they might seek to establish and

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Edward R. Hirt and Joshua J. Clarkson, "The Psychology of Fandom: Understanding the Etiology, Motives, and Implications of Fanship," 70; see also, R. B. Cialdini et al., "Basking in Reflected Glory: Three (football) Field Studies," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34 (1976): 366–375.

preserve sports legacies as a kind of symbolic continued existence for the athlete and his or her team, or event.

Chapter Four: Public History and Sports Legacy Preservation

Sports legacies are commonly preserved in texts and via the popular press and other forms of mass media in magazine articles, biographies, autobiographies, and films. Some examples include Ron Smith's book, *Yankees: A Century of Greatness* and Ken Burns' film *Baseball*. Scholarly, or academic, articles and journals produced by professional historians also play a part in preserving sports legacies. New digital print media technologies mean that there are now websites, virtual exhibits, and digital archives dedicated to preserving sports legacies. Sports halls of fame, sports museums, exhibits, monuments, and memorials are other sites of sports legacy preservation. Often these sites of public sports history are located at public spaces such as stadiums, schools, and public parks. Finally, there are both public and private libraries and archives dedicated to preserving sports legacies.

Sports legacies are preserved through artifacts like records, official documents, rosters, programs, letters, diaries, journals, scrapbooks, trading cards, still and moving images, interviews, voice recordings, transcripts, works of art, trophies, medals, equipment and uniforms. These artifacts may be collected and preserved by individuals, families, communities, foundations, organizations, businesses, schools, or government institutions. The people collecting, storing, or exhibiting artifacts may include hobbyists, businesspeople, professional historians, archivists, librarians, and museum curators, though generally, only those who have received professional training can properly preserve artifacts. Sports historian Wray Vamplew noted, "Overall, then, the artefactual

representation of the sporting past is undertaken by a wide variety of institutions, some more reputable than others in the way that they approach sporting heritage."[1]

Preserving sports legacies through public history

Sports historian Murray G. Phillips describes public history as having originated in America; it refers to "the employment of historians and the historical method outside the confines of academia in social history museums, foreign affairs offices and in the corporate world."[2] By this definition, the projects and tangible products of public historians may take any number of forms other than academic text. These may include: popular texts, documentary films, museums, monuments, memorials, historic markers, preservation and access of historic properties, places, and spaces; historical re-enactments and re-creations; exhibits of artifacts, photos, and art. Sports historian Stephen Hardy wrote that public historians include "writers, museum curators, [and] radio producers" who package "the past for a wider audience that includes the educated layperson. Academic historians are sometimes engaged in this segment, as consultants and producers."[3] Leading historian Donald Ritchie explains,

> Public historians aim for an out-of-school public audience, which might be officials in the government agency, corporations, union, philanthropic organization, or professional association that employs the historian or the library-using, documentary-viewing, museum-going general public. Other professional historians, for whom the bulk of historical literature is intended, account for only a small portion of the public historian's audience.[4]

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[1] Wray Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums," *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 270.
[2] Phillips, "Public Sports History, History and Social Memory: (Re)presenting Swimming in Australia."
[3] Stephen Hardy, "Where Did You Go, Jackie Robinson? Or, the End of History and the Age of Sport Infrastructure," *Sporting Traditions* 16, no. 1 (November 1999): 91.
[4] Donald A Ritchie, *Doing Oral History : A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2003), 41.

In April of 2007, the Board of Directors of the National Council on Public History (NCPH) set out to officially define public history as "a movement, methodology, and approach that promotes the collaborative study and practice of history; its practitioners embrace a mission to make their special insights accessible and useful to the public."[5] The NCPH explicates public history further:

> Public history is the conceptualization and practice of historical activities with one's public audience foremost in mind. It generally takes place in settings beyond the traditional classroom. Its practitioners often see themselves as mediators on the one hand between the academic practice of history and non-academics and on the other between the various interests in society that seek to create historical understanding. Public history practitioners include museum professionals, government and business historians, historical consultants, archivists, teachers, cultural resource managers, curators, film and media producers, policy advisors, oral historians, professors and students with public history interests, and many others.[6]

Some practitioners of public history disagreed with the official definition authored by the NCPH Board. Some of these dissidents "questioned whether public history really is a movement, methodology, or even an approach."[7] Others were disturbed by the connotation that public historians held a special mandate to educate the public or to at least convey their findings to those outside of professionalized history. They put forward a different definition that stresses public history as a co-operative undertaking in which historians and their multifarious audiences work together to produce a history utilizable to the general population. They hoped this adjustment in meaning would recognize the

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[5] National Council on Public History, "What Is Public History?," *Ncph.org*, April 2007, http://ncph.org/cms/what-is-public-history/.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Cathy Stanton, "'What Is Public History?' Redux," *Public History News* (September 2007).

authority and voice of all participants in history making and not just that of authorized or self-proclaimed public historians.[8]

Still others argued that the methodology of public history is not distinct from academic history; rather it is "just another concentration in much the same manner as, say, economic history, social history, or cultural history."[9] Some public historians see the field as "inherently interdisciplinary, like American Studies."[10] A coordinator of the MA program in Public History at the University of Maryland, Denise Meringolo, emphasized public historians, like any other professional historian, "MUST be trained first and foremost as historians to conduct research, to craft an interpretation, to write well."[11] Cathy Stanton, an award winning public history scholar and the editor of H-Public listserv, commented, "Another key role public historians seem to play in public projects is to continually broaden narrowly-defined agendas, with an eye toward keeping space open for possible other perspectives, including those that might arise in the future."[12]

Stanton sums up public history as being "grounded in the methods of the historical discipline, highly attentive to the social processes and political implications of their work, and resistant to" definition.[13] Benjamin Filene, from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, agreed that public history defies a set definition, saying, "In a field like ours, the act of definition should be about opening doors, not building walls. Part of the vitality of public history is that any definition we come up with will continue to be fluid."[14] With the lack of a concrete, precise definition for public history and the

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[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

emergence of a new definition of history as a fluid public discourse on the past, exciting new opportunities present themselves to the public historian.

Public historian Michael Frisch asserts that public history usually refers to histories that are commissioned, publicly funded, and intended for various public audiences.[15] Frisch also writes, "What is most compelling" about public history is its "capacity to redefine and redistribute intellectual authority, so that this might be shared more broadly in historical research and communication."[16] Public history returns to communities "the authority to explore and interpret their own experience."[17] Thus, public history is a "shared authority" between communities and "expert" historians.

As compelling as public history may be, it has its drawbacks. Sport historian Steven W. Pope noted, "There continues to be a vast gap between what sports scholars do and what the larger public consumes and conceives of as sports history."[18] Murray G. Phillips writes about public history as "contested terrain" and enumerates some of the challenges facing public sports historians:

> Commissioning bodies usually pose questions relating to the past that they wish to be pursued. This situation fuels one of the largest criticisms of public history in that the writer is asked to answer questions posed by others. Is the historical project distorted when the topics, the time frame, the length of the project, the anticipated audience and the literary style are outlined for the historian? Will the answers to the questions be accepted, modified, appropriated or even made public? Do commissioning bodies prefer cultural editing in order to produce

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[15] Frisch, Hamilton, and Thomson, "The Memory and History Debates: Some International Perspectives," 15.
[16] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, xx.
[17] Frisch, Hamilton, and Thomson, "The Memory and History Debates: Some International Perspectives," xxi.
[18] Steven W. Pope, "Sports Films and Hall of Fame Museums: Am Editorial Introduction," *Journal of Sport History* 23, no. 3 (1996): 310.

> positive versions of the past? This is literally the minefield that public historians wearily tread through.[19]

Despite its shortcomings, public history may be the historical discipline most suited to preserving sports legacies. Phillips explains that public sporting histories, more than other types of sporting histories, are important because they forge a link "between the past and the present: they create social memory."[20]

> Equally importantly, public history provides an avenue for academics to engage with the wider public and recover some of the lost opportunities as social commentators . . . Sporting histories provide an opportunity . . . for historians not only to relate to the public, but to create and install social memory. Public history helps to determine how the sporting past is remembered in our sporting present, and to create a link between historians and public intellectual culture. [21]

Sports museums, sports halls of fame, and sports history exhibits—material and virtual—are located at "the intersection between history and nostalgia," and fall under the heading "public history," according to Pope.[22] Vamplew notes that these sites are "the public face of sports history."[23] The sites where sports legacies are preserved and accessed by the public, then, are also in the domain of public history. Many popular sports history texts fall under the category of public history; yet, surprisingly, public history is a relatively new area of practice for sports historians. Although boys have collected baseball cards for generations, the national obsession with sports memorabilia did not move into full swing until as recently as the 1980s; likewise, a majority of sports

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[19] Phillips, "Public Sports History, History and Social Memory: (Re)presenting Swimming in Australia," 95.
[20] Ibid., 101.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Steven W. Pope, ed., *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives*, Sport and Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 21.
[23] Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums," 278.

museums and halls of fame were not founded until that decade or after.[24] In the late 1980s, several Australian sport historians were commissioned as consultants for documentary series on the history of sport in their country. The practice was apparently so new and controversial that the group felt the need to present an argument in favor of accepting such public commissions. Their justifications are reprinted here as they appeared in the *Newsletter and Proceedings* of the North American Society for Sport History in 1988:

1. The financial returns are much higher than what are paid to professional historians in universities;
2. Involvement in such projects will help to put sports history more on the map and give it a higher public profile;
3. Sports historians may also help to upgrade the quality of some of the material produced for television and other media outlets;
4. Sports historians should not at all be reticent in proclaiming their areas of expertise;
5. Consultancy projects will provide more employment for graduate students.[25]

Two decades later, Murray Phillips explained that he worked as a public sports historian when Swimming Australia asked him to write their history and also when he undertook a script-writing project for a documentary on Australian swimmers.[26] Writers

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[24] Pope, "Sports Films and Hall of Fame Museums: Am Editorial Introduction," 311; Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums."

[25] Richard Cashman, "Sports History for the Public," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the North American Society for Sport History* (1988): 68.

[26] Murray G. Phillips, "Public History and Sport History: Evaluating Commissioned Histories and Historical Documentaries," *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 394. Swimming Australia is the "national organization institution for swimming," according to Phillips.

of commissioned public sports history may be trained, academic sports historians or they may be sports journalists, but, according to Phillips,

> Commissioned histories typically prioritize content in ways that offend many sport historians . . . Moreover, aficionados, administrators, and journalists who have not received training in the historical method . . . are ill equipped to work critically and effectively with the sources . . . Authors of commissioned histories often lack the formal training to mitigate the limitations created by the partial, misleading, and contrived nature of the archive. Add to these concerns the reluctance to analyze causation, or apply comparative examples, or to engage with social, cultural, and political issues, and we may be getting closer to why many historians . . . struggle to give much credibility to commissioned histories.[27]

All histories and historians are subject to influence, but public history must usually work within the confines of a commissioning authority.[28] Commissioned histories can be problematic; historians' concerns usually center on "accessibility to the full array of archival material, the ability of the author to pass critical judgments on the funding organization, and the editorial control of the commissioning body—all of which potentially mean loss of intellectual freedom," contends Murray Phillips.[29] He explains that while conventional written histories may still be useful to general audiences, other connections to the past, particularly those created through family relationships, tend to be "more popular, and institutions like museums are considered to be more trustworthy" than written history.[30] Consequently, Phillips advises sports historians not to "marginalize

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[27] Ibid., 400.
[28] Phillips, "Public Sports History, History and Social Memory: (Re)presenting Swimming in Australia," 96.
[29] Phillips, "Public History and Sport History: Evaluating Commissioned Histories and Historical Documentaries," 396.
[30] Ibid., 394.

or ignore public history" as they "risk being isolated from the important ways the past is experienced in the present."[31]

In 1994, Bruce Kidd and Brenda Zeman critically examined the role of sports halls of fame in informing sports history. They discussed how the judgments of several hundred sports halls of fame in North America "profoundly shape the primary data available for research."[32] Kidd and Zeman wrote,

> Many "halls of fame" play a strategic role in the public remembering and interpretation of sports . . .In the process, they single out particular sports, skills, practices, and values for praise and blame, fame and obscurity, legitimation and marginalization. Many "halls" have become important sources of reference for school children, journalists, and amateur and professional historians.[33]

The authors explain that close community relationships with schools and institutions of trade and tourism mean that sports halls of fame "enjoy a far greater audience than the readership of most sports histories."[34] Yet, Zeman asserts that the "institutionalized immortality" of sports halls of fame and their neglect of "social history and public culture" has resulted in an "unimaginative history" that has failed to bring life to the enshrined.[35] Similarly, in analyzing the Hockey Hall of Fame, Kidd found lamentable appropriation of the past and legitimization of a consumption ideology.[36]

In his 1996 criticism of Ken Burns' *Baseball,* Jules Tygiel, a sports historian and expert on Jackie Robinson, also illustrated the conflicted relationship between traditional

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Bruce Kidd and Brenda Zeman, "The Public History of Sports: A Critical Look at Sports Halls of Fame," in *North American Society for Sport History*, 1994, 17–19.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

written history and its more accessible cousin, public history. Tygiel wrote that Burns had created "an unprecedented oral and visual history of the game and brought it before a broad audience of both devout fans and the uninitiated. Yet, while recognizing Burns' achievement, [Tygiel] was deeply disturbed by many aspects of the series."[37] Tygiel enumerated the film's inaccuracies and misrepresentations, explaining that Burns took "substantial liberties with its sequence, facts, and events."[38]

Historian Wray Vamplew likewise lamented the state of public sports history as it was practiced in the mid 1990s in sports museums worldwide.[39] The inadequacies of sports museums, according to Vamplew, include their over-reliance on nostalgia, the "inadequate provision of information, and a general lack of critical appraisal."[40] Vamplew complained that many sports museums "adopted an uncritical approach that eschewed controversy, emphasized ludic performance, and downplayed or ignored any unwelcome social or political aspects."[41] Making matters worse, says Vamplew, sports "artifacts were often exhibited without proper context so that the visitor was unaware of the significance of the piece on display or, even worse, without any indication of how it was used."[42]

Consequently, when Vamplew was commissioned by the British National Horseracing Museum at Newmarket to aid in the development of a new gallery on the history of gambling on races, he "jumped at the chance" to "do something better" in

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[37] Jules Tygiel, "Ken Burns Meets Jackie Robinson," *Journal of Sport History* 23, no. 1 (1996): 69. See also Ken Burns, *Baseball: A Film by Ken Burns*, Documentary (PBS Home Video, 1994).
[38] Tygiel, "Ken Burns Meets Jackie Robinson," 69.
[39] See Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums."
[40] Wray Vamplew, "Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports Museums and Public Sports History," *Journal of Sports History* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 177.
[41] Ibid., 178.
[42] Ibid.

public history.[43] Although Vamplew's experiences during his commission shed new light on the problems faced by museum curators, he disparaged the unorganized leadership of most sports history museums. While unqualified management may have been a major problem plaguing public sports history, Vamplew cited lack of resources and funding as the biggest barrier to improvement in the discipline. Complained Vamplew, "It is ironic that institutions that concentrate on the past have no guarantee of their future. Few sports museums know if they will be in existence twelve months hence."[44] In point of fact, he described the circumstances of several local sports history museums that were forced to close when their spaces were needed for stadia expansion and hospitality enhancements. Furthermore, unlike Cashman who argued that the involvement of academic historians in public history would yield them higher financial returns "than what are paid to professional historians in universities," Vamplew argued that scarce resources force public history projects to the backburner where they become hobbies for history professors to enjoy in their spare time, purely for the love of history or as an act of community service.[45]

Another issue at the forefront of public sports history is the need for museums to cater to donors, patrons, and audiences. Vamplew generalizes that most sports fans want only positive memories of sports heroes and favorite sports; therefore, they want only happy, celebratory experiences at sports history museums.[46] Thus, even curators with access to rigorous scholarship and ample funds face very difficult choices. When

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 184.
[45] Cashman, "Sports History for the Public;" Vamplew, "Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports Museums and Public Sports History," 187.
[46] Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums;" Vamplew, "Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports Museums and Public Sports History."

Vamplew began to work with sports museums in the 1990s, he "believed that they were likely to advance the popularity of sport history" because, he says, "They offered 'infotainment,' the fun of sport and the results of research."[47] Vamplew is "now less certain that sports museums are the way forward for sport history, not because of the curators and researchers who strive hard to present new facts to new audiences but because of the environment in which they operate."[48]

Ultimately, the issues raised by Vamplew were whether or not public sports history can be "good" history and whether professional sports historians should do work in public history. He addresses the problems in this way:

> There is a place in museums for nostalgia . . . but it need not be devoid of historical accuracy and context. Celebration need not exist without critique. There is a major challenge to be faced in bringing the non-heroic aspects of such social issues of class, age, gender, and ethnicity into the public history domain of sport, one traditionally focused almost exclusively on triumphant ludic personalities and generally referring only to social issues as part of a romantic success story. The transition from academic to public history is a difficult one, but to open the eyes of the public to a different view of sport history can only serve the interests of the profession . . . Museums have the advantage of providing multi-sensory context through the combination of material culture, sound, film, photography, oral testimonies and stories told through spatial arrangements. More than this, however, museums offer the opportunity for social interaction between visitors and an exchange of memories and histories between individuals. Surely this is a form of public history that should be nurtured and stimulated. Conversely limiting ourselves to writing solely for our academic peers is an abrogation of our public responsibility as historians.[49]

Drawing from historian Steven Pope's placement of sports halls of fame at "the intersection of history and nostalgia," this thesis locates sports legacy preservation at the

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[47] Vamplew, "Taking a Gamble or a Racing Certainty: Sports Museums and Public Sports History," 187.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 188.

intersection of academic history, public history, and nostalgia—though without the negative connotations normally attributed to the term by academic historians; instead this thesis treats sports nostalgia and myth as natural human functions and products of collective/social memory helpful to sports legacy preservation.

Figure 5: Sports legacy preservation concept map.

Digital public history and sports legacy preservation

In 1998, Vamplew suggested that the future of public sports history lay in virtual sports museums or exhibits where visitors could conveniently browse photographs and film and listen to recorded oral testimony and the songs and chants of fans. An even greater possibility suggested by Vamplew was an aggregation of virtual sports history exhibits and the digital sharing of historical sports artifacts between museums. He envisioned that these technological possibilities would not only reduce costs and manage risks for visitors and museums alike, but would also make access to the world's sporting

heritage and primary sources more convenient.[50] The National Endowment for the Humanities, Office of Digital Humanities similarly notes:

> Technology . . . radically changes the ways in which archival materials can be searched, mined, displayed, taught, and analyzed. Digital technology has also had an enormous impact on how scholarly materials are preserved and accessed, generating challenging issues related to sustainability, copyright, and authenticity.[51]

Certainly, digital technology has transformed the way in which academic and public sports historians perform their work. It inspires novel inquiries and approaches and can be used, notes Vamplew, to improve "research, education, preservation, access, and public programming."[52] Nancy Rubin writes that digital public sports history may be the "ideal way to transport students back in time to learn about different communities and to experience the history of the people and place in thought-provoking ways." Digital public sports history "can introduce learners to primary materials that are too far away or too fragile to examine. History can be brought to life with first-person narratives" that site visitors can watch and/or listen to via audiovisual streaming technology.[53] Indeed, many sports libraries, archives, and museums now feature virtual exhibits and digital collections.[54] Of course, as with physical archives and exhibits, audiences and researchers using these online sports history resources should do so with critical scrutiny.[55]

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[50] Vamplew, "Facts and Artefacts: Sports Historians and Sports Museums," 278.
[51] National Endowment for the Humanities, "About the Office of Digital Humanities," *National Endowment for the Humanities*, n.d., http://www.neh.gov.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Nancy Rubin and Florida Atlantic University, *Digital Public History: Virtual Field Trips as Engaged Learning* (Florida Atlantic University, 2007).
[54] See for example, the digitized collections and virtual exhibits available online through the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and sports at http://www.starkcenter.org/research/web/. The Stark Center website also has a directory of national and international sports museums and halls of fame web sites, digital sports archives, special collections, virtual exhibits, digital sports libraries and catalogs, and digital

Oral history

Oral history is a form of public history and an historical methodology that is commonly employed by public historians.[56] In *Doing Oral History*, Donald Ritchie asserts, "Public history is an organized effort to bring accurate, meaningful history to a public audience, and oral history is a natural tool for reaching that goal."[57]

The Oral History Association offers this definition for oral history:

> Oral history is a field of study and a method of gathering, preserving and interpreting the voices and memories of people, communities, and participants in past events. Oral history is both the oldest type of historical inquiry, predating the written word, and one of the most modern, initiated with tape recorders in the 1940s and now using 21st-century digital technologies.[58]

Oral histories are usually collected through recorded interviews; these may be in audio or video format. Interviewers are typically well prepared in that they have done background research and have prepared a list of essential questions or topics beforehand. The interviewer questions the interviewee with the intent to produce a recorded exchange that will have "historical significance."[59] Ritchie summarizes the basic guidelines for oral history interviews:

> Recordings of the interview are transcribed, summarized, or indexed and then placed in a library or archives. These interviews may be used for research or excerpted in a publication, radio or video documentary, museum exhibition,

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full text sports books and serials; see also the substantial digital collection available through the LA84 Foundation at http://www.la84foundation.org/.

[55] For insight on the critical assessment of online sports history see Roy Rozenzweig, "Sport History on the Web: Towards a Critical Assessment," *Journal of Sport History* 31, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 371–376.

[56] See Frisch, *A Shared Authority* and Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1753).

[57] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 41.

[58] Oral History Association, "Oral History," *Oralhistory.org*, n.d., http://www.oralhistory.org/do-oral-history/.

[59] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 19.

> dramatization or other form of public presentation. Recordings, transcripts, catalogs, photographs and related documentary materials can also be posted on the Internet. Oral history does not include random taping, …nor does it refer to recorded speeches, wiretapping, personal diaries on tape, or other sound recordings that lack the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee.[60]

Oral history is a "natural tool" for public history because of its links to memory. "Memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved," writes Ritchie.[61] Frisch agrees that, "Memory is the key to the meaning and uses of oral history."[62] With public history and memory at the core of sports legacies, oral history is also a "natural tool" for sports legacy preservation.

However, concerns about the changeability of memory and the inauthenticity of nostalgia have led some historians to criticize oral history as too subjective and to reject it as a valid historical methodology.[63] Ritchie argues that most memory studies conducted by psychologists have focused on the fallibility of short term memory and that relatively few studies have been conducted on the accuracy of long term memory; he sites several examples of ex post facto verification of oral history interviews in which events recalled by interviewees really did occur exactly as interviewees had described.[64] On the other hand, there are plenty of examples from oral history where interviewees exhibit a kind of amnesia or else remember things not at all as they really were; yet these incidents can be more informative than accurate re-tellings and they can shed new light on culture,

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 188.
[63] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 27–28.
[64] Ibid., 31.

collective memory, and the meanings people assign to identity and history.[65] Alessandro Portelli admits that though oral sources are not fully reliable, "rather than being a weakness, this is however, a strength: errors, inventions, and myths lead us beyond facts to their meanings."[66]

To be sure, oral history has its weaknesses; namely, according to Frisch, a lack of quality in execution and presentation, and an unwillingness on the part of humanities scholars to offer critical contributions or historical reflection on oral testimony.[67] Nevertheless, many well-respected and award winning professional historians assert that oral history evidence is as reliable an any other form of historical evidence, though oral history interviews, according to Ronald Grele, also tell us "not just what happened but what people thought happened and how they have internalized and interpreted what happened."[68] Likewise, Frisch asserts that oral history "forces us to look at what interviews actually represent."[69]

The Texas Historical Commission opens its pamphlet publication on oral history with, "The real record of history is found in the lives of those who lived it."[70] The publication stresses the importance of knowing how and when to use oral history and advises practitioners to familiarize themselves with its advantages and disadvantages.

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[65] Ibid., 36–37. Also, see especially Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories : Form and Meaning in Oral History*, SUNY Series in Oral and Public History (State University of New York Press, 1990).

[66] Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories : Form and Meaning in Oral History*, 2.

[67] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 187–188.

[68] Ronald J Grele, *Envelopes of Sound : The Art of Oral History*, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 1991), 245. Also, for example, Donald Ritchie is the official historian of the U.S. Senate, has served on the councils of several national and international history associations, and was awarded an Organization of American Historians prize for published work in public history.

[69] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 188.

[70] Texas Historical Commission, "Fundamentals of Oral History, Texas Preservation Guidelines" (Texas Historical Commission, February 2004), 1.

The Commission recommends the use of more traditional historical research methods for obtaining factual information, "such as specific dates, places or times, because people rarely remember such detail accurately" in oral history interviews. "Oral history is the best method to use, however, to get an idea not only of what happened, but what past times meant to people and how it felt to be a part of those times."[71]

Furthermore, according to the Texas Historical Commission's "Fundamentals of Oral History, Texas Preservation Guidelines," oral history can: provide an added dimension to historical research; foster appreciation for little-known or rapidly vanishing ways of life; verify the historicity of events which cannot be determined by traditional methods of historical research; correct stereotypical images of lifeways and people; recover and preserve important aspects of a human experience that would otherwise go undocumented; transmit knowledge from one generation to the next; and enhance our understanding of the past by illuminating personal experience.[72]

Frisch describes oral history as a "powerful tool" for academic and public history because it "provides a source of new information about otherwise inaccessible experience" and it is "a method for obtaining first-person experience without the intellectualizing and abstraction of scholarship."[73] Frisch sees oral history as a tool through which academic historians might repair and energize a conflicted relationship with the general public. He explains,

> Oral history emerges a powerful tool for discovering, exploring, and evaluating the nature of the process of historical memory—how people make sense of their past, how they connect individual experience and its social context, how the past

[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 187–188.

becomes part of the present, and how people use it to interpret heir lives and the world around them.[74]

To redress the lack of quality they perceive in their discipline, oral historians have established ethical principles, best practices, and quality standards for doing oral history as well as guidelines for critically evaluating oral history projects.[75] These standards are important for ensuring quality history production and ethical treatment of subjects in a discipline that does not discriminate on who may or may not participate. While the Oral History Association welcomes oral historians from all walks of life and educational backgrounds, they maintain that a certain level of training, knowledge, and quality must be upheld in the discipline. To facilitate quality in their discipline, local, regional, national, and international oral history associations, as well as individual leaders in the field, widely publish standards and make them freely accessible to the public.[76] A survey of these standards reveals a good degree of uniformity across associations and practitioners; yet, there are a few points of contention among individual practitioners.

For some oral historians, the role of the interviewer is similar to that of ethnographer-confidant. Here, the goal is simply to elicit and record information. Rapport between the interviewer and interviewee is essential; accordingly, the interviewer should remain impartial and should not attempt to educate or antagonize the interviewee by challenging their recollections or opinions.[77] For other practitioners, the role of the

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[74] Ibid., 188.

[75] Oral History Association, "Principles and Best Practices for Oral History," *Oral History Association*, October 2009, www.oralhistory.org.

[76] See, for example, International Oral History Association at IOHAnet.org, Oral History Association at oral history.org, Southwest Oral History Association at SOHA.org, and Texas Oral History Association at baylor.edu/TOHA.

[77] Texas Historical Commission, "Fundamentals of Oral History, Texas Preservation Guidelines," 8. Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 1st ed. (Hoboken: Routledge, 2010), 163.

interviewer is not as passive; rather, the interviewer has a duty to inform, correct, and challenge the interviewee if he or she feels that it is helpful or necessary.[78] Here, polite impartiality and rapport give way to critical analysis, social duty, or duty to history.

Having participated in an oral history project as an interviewer, I have experienced discomfort with both approaches. The first can leave one feeling complicit in misinformation and misrepresentation when an interviewee gets his or her facts wrong or expresses views with which one wholeheartedly disagrees. The impartial approach may garner the criticism of the oral historian's professional peers or lead to embarrassment for the interviewer. The second, more critical approach may lead to uncomfortably contentious moments that alienate interviewees and shut down interviews or even derail entire projects; this approach has the potential to embarrass interviewees or cause them undue discomfort.[79]

Ultimately, each project and each interviewer must decide how they will address these issues. Interviewers should be well trained and versed on the history they seek to illuminate through the interview. Interviewers should also have a sense of the temperament of each interviewee and they should be sympathetic to the emotional state of each interviewee. In my opinion, each interviewer should do what he or she feels is right with each interviewee and in each moment of the interview; in this way, perhaps,

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[78] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 104.

[79] For instance, it is not uncommon for interviewees to cry or to become angry as painful memories resurface during an oral history interview. Explains Ritchie, "Some Institutional Review Boards have tried to dissuade researchers from asking questions that might invoke painful memories of traumatic events. Yet oral history frequently deals with sorrowful recollections about the Holocaust, wartime experiences, floods and natural disasters, in which interviewees have suffered grievous losses. Confronting memories that may have been long suppressed can have a cathartic and therapeutic effect." However, the oral history interview of a California senator apparently caused him so much discomfort that he committed suicide soon after; see *Ritchie, Doing Oral History*, 218, 107.

both parties may be spared discomfort without sacrificing the quality of the historical document.

"Oral history is unique in that it creates its own documents," notes Frisch.[80] These documents are another area of disagreement among oral historians. There is a long-standing debate amongst historians as to which is the primary historical document: the recording or the transcript?[81] Some oral history practitioners insist on verbatim transcripts while others feel that transcripts must be edited to make sense for public audiences.[82] Some oral historians argue that interviewees must have the right to edit their transcripts. Others contend that this amounts to alteration of a primary source document; thus, no changes or edits are to be permitted but interviewees must have the right to review recordings and/or transcripts before denying or granting their public release. [83]

Both approaches are problematic. Granting interviewees editorial rights can lead to lengthy and costly (in terms of time and labor) post-production of the historical document, which is censored and rendered less authentic in the process. Many interviewees don't have the time, interest, or skill to edit these historical documents, but rather than admit this, they delay or avoid further interaction with the oral historian. Asking interviewees to review transcripts and/or recordings before authorizing release is another minefield. Very few people are happy with the way they sound in recordings or with the way their recorded speech appears in text form. Given these difficulties, it is amazing that any oral histories ever make it through post-production to reach the public.

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[80] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 188.
[81] See Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 68–71. Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 1st ed. (Hoboken: Routledge, 2010), 10-14.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 68–71.

But this negotiation, this shared authority in living history and document production, is part of what makes oral history distinct from other historical methodologies. Oral history is further distinguished from other methodologies because it possesses the unique qualities of orality, narrativity, performativity, memory, subjectivity, mutability, intersubjectivity, and collaboration[84]

Oral history has the character of orality because it deals with actual speech, the spoken word. Lynn Abrams, in *Oral History Theory*, writes, "Orality comprises the rhythms and cadences, repetitions and intonations, the use of particular speech forms such as anecdote or reported speech, the use of dialect, as well as the volume, tone and speed."[85]

Narrative, writes Abrams, "refers to the ways in which people make and use stories to interpret the world; in other words, narrative is a form which is used to translate knowing in to telling."[86] Narrative brings order and organization to disordered experiences and memories. From orality and narrativity comes the quality of performativity in oral history. Each interview is a performance and "the meaning and interpretation of the source lies not merely in the content of what is said but also in the way it is said."[87]

For most historians, the inaccuracies and bias of documents produced from memory impinges their utility in historical research; however, for oral historians, the imperfections and mutability of memory present an opportunity. Oral historians, says Abrams, "want to know why people remember or forget things, the warping and mistakes

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[84] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 19. See also Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal* 12, no. 1 (September 21, 1981): 96–107.
[85] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 20.
[86] Ibid., 21.
[87] Ibid., 22.

they make, and ask 'why?' It is this use to which oral historians put memory that sets this type of historical research apart."[88]

While scholars in memory studies generally recognize several different memory systems—semantic, procedural, working, episodic/autobiographical, and flash-bulb/vivid memory—oral historians are primarily concerned with the episodic/autobiographical and flash-bulb/vivid memory systems. Episodic or autobiographical memory, writes Abrams, "enables recall of particular events or incidents" and one's vantage point within those events.[89] Abrams writes that flash bulb, or vivid memory, "is contained within episodic memory and refers to a memory that is captured in vivid detail—having photographic or visual quality."[90] These memories are usually of incidents that have great personal meaning or emotional significance. Generally, we only remember things of which we were aware and which had some meaning to us at the time we experienced them. The experience must then be encoded, stored, and associated with other meaningful knowledge in deep memory. In order to retrieve these encoded fragments of former experience, we must have cues or prompts to bring the memories to present recollection; this is the task of the oral historian.[91] The wording of interview questions and the use of visual aides—photographs, letters, and material artifacts—can significantly affect interviewees' ability to recall the past.

Abrams explains subjectivity in oral history as "the quality of defining or interpreting something through the medium of one's mind;" in this case, the mind of a particular interviewee.[92] No two people will recall the same event in exactly the same

[88] Ibid., 23.
[89] Ibid., 83.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 22.

way, even if they were standing right next to each other and are the same age and gender. Mutability refers to the transience and changeability of oral testimony. "No interview with the same person will ever be repeated the same. Words will change, stories will change, and performance and narrative structure will change," asserts Abrams.[93] But mutability also refers the transformative process of oral history creation. Abrams explains,

> Oral history then, is a mutable genre, meaning it starts out as one thing but may become something else. The form mutates but at the same time several versions of the original coexist–the recording, the transcription and the interpretation–and each informs the others. Within each of these forms different elements are highlighted. In the aural version it is the verbal performance of the narrator that takes center stage. In the written or transcribed version we tend to focus on the content. In the public version we focus on interpretation. In effect, what starts out as a personal exchange, private conversation, becomes a public statement or a text which is open to various interpretations and even may be transformed in to another genre altogether such as a scholarly article or a film or theatre performance.[94]

Intersubjectivity describes the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee and the affect they have on one another and on the historical text they create. For example, writes Abrams, "there is widespread acceptance that the sex and age of the interviewer has a major impact on the testimony from a respondent."[95] Collaboration refers to the active roles taken by both the interviewee and the historian in creating oral history. Abrams contends, "Oral history is a joint enterprise, a collaborative effort between respondents and researchers." It is the only historical research methodology

[93] Ibid., 24.
[94] Ibid., 25.
[95] Ibid., 24.

where the historian, "with the cooperation of the interviewees, creates his or her own sources."[96]

Oral history and sports

Ritchie identifies public sports history as one of the very first history disciplines to use oral history as a research methodology:

> Motivated by the death of baseball legend Ty Cobb in 1961, Lawrence Ritter set out to interview as many of the surviving pre-World War I baseball players as he could find. Traveling thousands of miles, he tracked down a group of elderly men who shared a remarkable storehouse of memories and an ability to articulate them vividly . . . As a skeptical researcher, Ritter went back to the old newspapers to verify the stories he heard, and almost without exception found that the events had occurred just as the oldtime players had described them, embellished only occasionally "to dramatize a point, to emphasize a contrast, or to reveal a truth."[97]

Sports historian Susan Cahn has used evidence from oral histories in her research and she published the seminal work on the use of oral history in sports history when her essay, "Sports Talk: Oral History and Its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History," appeared in *The Journal of American History* in 1994:

> [Cahn] . . . look[s] at the uses that both academic and nonacademic sport historians have made of oral history, its influence on our scholarly understanding of sport, and some practical and ethical problems involved in conducting, accessing, and interpreting sports-related oral histories. Taken together, this work suggests the power of oral history to broaden historical knowledge, to force us to rethink existing understandings, and, ultimately, to blur the outmoded distinction between "popular" and "professional" scholarship. I propose that the popular approach taken by many writers of sport history should be regarded, not as a taint,

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 31; see also, Lawrence S. Ritter, *The Glory of Their Times*: *The Story of the Early Days of Baseball Told by the Men Who Played It* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), xvii-xviii, 62.

> but as a strength; it permits us to establish valuable links between popular, public, and academic history.[98]

Cahn delineates several genres of oral history used in popular and academic sports history: topical or thematic interviews; autobiographical works; biographies; and "formal and analytical academic histories that tap oral evidence as one source among others in order to explore the history of sport and its relation to broader issues in the history of the United States."[99] The National Baseball Hall of Fame has employed oral history to preserve the legacies of athletes, teams, and leagues. And while the majority of oral histories in sport have been related to baseball nostalgia, community-based sport and industrial sport have also found a wellspring of agency in oral history.[100] Still, archived sports oral histories can be hard to locate. Explains Cahn,

> Although many works on sport utilize oral history, very little of this material is available on tape or in transcript at historical archives or libraries. Most authors have chosen not to donate or have not yet donated their interviews to institutions that would ensure access for other researchers. Most of the accessible interviews are in published works that reproduce edited interviews . . . Although such publications can be extremely useful, access to the edited interview alone, without the questions, a full transcript, or an audiotape, limit their value for historians. Even locating oral histories that are held by archives or libraries can be difficult.[101]

Despite the difficulties, Cahn has done a remarkably thorough job locating and describing the nation's most significant sports oral history collections. She explains, "The largest collections of oral histories of sport are held by nonacademic libraries, often ones

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[98] Susan K. Cahn, "Sports Talk: Oral History and Its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (1994): 594–595; see, especially, Cahn's notes.
[99] Ibid., 595.
[100] Ibid., 594–597.
[101] Ibid., 600.

associated with halls of fame or athletic organization," but she also describes a handful located within academic libraries and archives.[102]

Of the oral history collections described by Cahn, one in particular has special significance to this thesis: the sixty oral histories of Olympians held at the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles (LA84 Foundation), which maintains one the largest and most important sport libraries in the world.[103] Currently, the Foundation has digitized transcripts of the oral history interviews available for viewing and searching online via their digital archive but they also hold recordings, transcripts, and some videotapes onsite. These oral histories are mostly from athletes that resided in the Los Angeles area and include representatives from a number of different Olympic sports and different U.S. Olympic Teams (in terms of year). This collection is an important part of our nation's sporting heritage and it presents a remarkable opportunity for sports historians to study individual experiences across time and across various sports. Comparisons might even be done across individuals within the same Olympic year. The table below illustrates the distribution of oral histories in the LA84 Foundation's collection. It might be said that not only has the Foundation preserved the legacies of sixty individual athletes, but it has also preserved the legacies of Olympic Teams, especially that of the 1932 team.

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[102] Ibid., 601; instead of reproducing her essay here in its entirety, readers of this thesis are advised to refer to her work.

[103] Ibid., 602; see the digitized transcripts in PDF at http://la84foundation.org/6oic/OralHistory/

Olympic Year	Number of Representative Oral Histories
1920	3
1924	8
1928	10
1932	24
1936	17
1948	6
1952	6
1956	4
1960	2
1968	1

Table 1: Distribution of LA84 Foundation's Olympian oral histories by Olympic year. [104]

One important work neglected by Cahn in her review of sports oral histories is Lewis Carlson's and John J. Fogarty's, *Tales of Gold*. Though Carlson is a history professor at Michigan State University, the book is thoroughly more in the "popular" or "public" style than in the academic style and it fits into the topical/thematic interview genre identified by Cahn. Like most popular/public sports histories, the tone and topic of the book are celebratory, but not exclusively so. In the preface, the editors claim that

[104] The collection spans 1920 to 1968. Years not listed had no Olympic Games in that year or else have no oral histories from those Games in the collection.

interviewees share not only their triumphs but also their frustrations and tragedies. Carlson and Fogarty write:

> This book [is] less a collection of autobiographical sketches of individual triumphs than it is a testament to the magnificence of the human spirit.
>
> These stories also provide a variety of perspectives on what is not right with the Olympics. Excessive nationalism, political intrigue, and controversy have long marred the Games, as have sexual and racial discrimination, biased judging, violations of amateur codes, and more recently, boycotts, the use of performance-enhancing drugs, skyrocketing costs, and growing commercialism. We found among the older athletes a compelling innocence that one seldom finds today. They took the time to make friends and savor their surroundings. Today, the winning of medals is a much more earnest endeavor.[105]

To be sure, the work is a curious blend of nostalgia, critical social history, and popular history; yet, this is the medium in which sports legacies are created and preserved.

Carlson and Fogarty had originally intended to restrict themselves to oral history interviews with surviving members of the pre-World War II Olympic teams, but felt compelled, instead, to offer readers a broader historical comparison by adding thirty-seven representative interviews from postwar Olympians to the twenty-one interviews they conducted with pre-war Olympians. Amazingly, among the fifty-eight Olympians interviewed, there is almost no overlap with the collection housed at the LA84 Foundation.

Carlson and Fogarty conducted the oral history interviews themselves and had their daughters transcribe them. Though they wrote, "This is oral history, history as recounted by those who actually lived it;" and, "This is the Olympians' story, told in their

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[105] Lewis H. Carlson and John J. Fogarty, eds., *Tales of Gold* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1987), xii.

way and in their words," Carlson and Fogarty explain that they "minimally" edited the transcript narratives for publication, removing their questions and comments, eliminating "irrelevant" and "repetitious" content, and rearranging "the material to give a chronology or continuity to events and thoughts."[106] Unfortunately, the original content and form of these oral histories may be lost; nowhere in the book do the editors indicate at which archive, if any, they deposited their interviews. Consequently, the original tape recordings may never be available to other researchers. By the standards of academic oral historians—who are as interested in form as they are in content and for whom the interaction between interviewer and interviewee is a hallmark of oral history—*Tales of Gold* no longer qualifies as true oral history. Cahn would agree that *Tales of Gold* is not in the academic genre of oral history but that it does qualify as public/popular oral history.

Carlson and Fogarty interviewed between one to six Olympians for each of the Summer Games between 1912 and 1984; they aimed for a sample that would be equally representative of gender, class, race, and ethnicity. Intriguingly, the editors chose to limit their oral history interviews to gold medal winners. While financial concerns and the interests of popular audiences may have influenced this choice, it nevertheless marginalizes the experiences of Olympians who did not win medals. On the other hand, Susan Cahn might argue that the exclusivity of *Tales of Gold* provides historians an opportunity to critically examine the social and cultural meanings of victory through the lived experiences of the victorious. As if anticipating criticism from their peers, Carlson and Fogarty offer this concession on the front page of *Tales of Gold*:

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[106] Ibid., xi–xiii.

> The important thing in the Olympic Games is not to win but to take part; the important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle.
>
> — Pierre de Coubertin, 1896

Using oral history methodology to preserve sports legacies

Oral history's potentiality as a sports history research methodology is compelling. Using Cahn's essay as a guide, I summarize here the possible ways in which sports history might benefit from oral history methodology. Oral history might be used to: uncover information not already available in the written record; record and analyze tacit sports knowledge—the facts and rules that we know about sports but do not write down; investigate how gender, class, race, and ethnicity inform lived experience in sport; give voice to the traditionally disenfranchised or marginalized groups in sport; examine dominant ideologies and the power structure of sport; provide historians with opportunities to work in public history, thereby creating a discourse between popular, public, and academic history; further scholarly understanding of "the construction and transmission of historical memory;" facilitate scholarly research on the origin, purpose, and persistence of myth and nostalgia in sports memory narratives; "inform our understanding of the collective racial and ethnic memories that underpin shared identities;" explore the meanings of silences and distortions in historical narratives as well as "tabooed or suppressed topics;" examine how the language we use signifies historical and political meanings, and investigate how that language influences "the interview process and our historical findings."[107]

To this list, I add that oral history can be used to establish and preserve sports legacies; as demonstrated in the previous section of this thesis, there is already precedent

[107] Cahn, "Sports Talk: Oral History and Its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History."

for doing so. Sports legacies, located at the intersection of public history and memory, find a perfect medium in oral history, at the heart of which is the relationship between memory and the public. Oral history is a narrative reinterpretation of the past, viewed from the present, for the purpose of preserving a record for the future. Likewise, sports legacies are fragments of sports heritage re-interpreted for the present, with the intent that they will continue in public memory in the future. Oral history then, is an excellent vehicle for sports legacy preservation; it can be used to preserve the legacies of individual athletes or teams, or even entire leagues. It can also be used to preserve the memory of specific sports events or venues or even a particular sports season.

Those wishing to preserve the legacy of a specific team might establish a hall of fame, museum, or archive—the typical institutions of sports legacy preservation. However, the cost of acquiring, preserving, and displaying artifacts would prove too restrictive to most individuals and institutions. If still and moving images and material artifacts are to be preserved, the cost of acquiring space and staff services at museum-quality levels must be considered in addition to the risks and costs of making the legacy collection available to the public. A better approach might be to lobby for inclusion in an already well-establish institution.

While oral history must also rely on institutional support, particularly that of archives, it may be the method of preservation most suited to sports teams. The team, as a whole, represents a collective experience and a collective memory. At the same time, the individuals that make up a team will each have a unique perspective to offer. This interplay between collective and individual memory is what sets team legacies apart from individual sports legacies and promises to yield a treasure-trove of research opportunities for public and academic sports historians.

New technologies permit virtual halls of fame, online exhibits, and digital archives; these methods can circumvent some of the risks as well as the some of the costs of acquisition and facility overheads. Digital oral history, like traditional oral history, is not without its legal risks and production costs; it can actually be quite expensive when one factors in interviewer and staff costs, travel for interviews, digital recording and editing equipment, and transcription. Traditional oral histories can usually only be accessed through archives or as edited exerts in publications; but digital oral history, if done right, can be accessed on the web by anyone.

Taking the potential audience size and the capacity to reach that audience into consideration, digital oral history may be the most effective method of sports legacy preservation in terms of cost, content, and public impact. Yet, digitization and online access are only part of the solution to the challenge of preserving sports legacies; libraries and archives also need to manage and present content effectively in order to increase access and use of collections. Oral histories tend to be especially problematic because their contextualizing components (transcripts, recordings, supporting documents, related images, and other relevant content) are typically accessed out of context and presented as isolated artifacts.

Chapter Five: The 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project

Background

Sports, and the legacies of those who participate in them, constitute a vital, but often overlooked, part of humanity's cultural heritage. The global audience for the 2012 Olympic Games alone is estimated to exceed some four billion spectators. This audience is eager for information about the lives of athletes and the games in which they participated. Fans and researchers alike want to experience athletes' personal narratives of struggle and dedication. At the same time, thousands of sports communities including (but not limited to) amateur, professional, and military teams, institutional athletic departments, public recreational organizations, and fans/collectors need a way to share and preserve their stories.

The 116 years of participation by American athletes in the modern Olympic Games constitutes a particularly rich cultural heritage—one which merits thoughtful reflection by public and academic audiences alike. Sadly, little effort has been made to collect and preserve (much less disseminate) primary source material pertaining to the involvement of American athletes in the Olympic movement. And while a growing consensus exists on the importance of redressing this situation, no institution, so far, has been willing to undertake such a project and make full use of the latest digital technologies so that the public can share in these materials. This lack of attention exists not because other institutions don't understand that sport is a culturally rich source of humanities content, but, rather, because arranging access to former Olympic team members and collecting their personal stories and ephemera can be difficult, and because

in today's fiscal environment such large scale projects pose significant budgetary challenges.

In February of 2007, a Kentucky man conducting business in Mexico City took an afternoon hiatus from his work to revisit the Olympic Stadium there. Though empty and silent, the arena nonetheless evoked for the former pentathlete a vivid procession of flags and uniforms. He recalled the shadowy corridor before his blinking march onto a sunlit track, the accompanying roar of eighty-thousand people, the eternal flame blazing heavenward, doves circling overhead, and a swelling pride so profound, its emotional memory threatened his normally stolid composure much as it had forty years earlier during the opening ceremony of the 1968 Olympic Games when Tom Lough was a young army officer on the U.S. Modern Pentathlon team. Since that day in 2007, Lough has been inspired to reunite with some three hundred of his fellow 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Members. His experience, retold here, comes from a transcript and recording that are part of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History collection, which contains forty-eight recorded interviews.[1] Housed at the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports, the collection was born of collaboration between Tom Lough, now a professor at Murray State University in Kentucky, and my graduate research advisor, Dr. Thomas M. Hunt, the Stark Center's Assistant Director for Academic Affairs.

Though we might say that it was only nostalgia that inspired Lough to what is thought to be the first re-assembly and reunion of a specific U.S. Olympic team, Lough has cited these motives: he longed to reconnect with his modern pentathlon teammates;

[1] M. Thomas Lough, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History," interview by author, transcript and digital recording of interview by phone, November 15, 2010, The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports. This interview can be accessed from the project web page, http://www.starkcenter.org/about/institute/1968/.

he wanted to meet team members from other sports whom he did not have the opportunity to meet in 1968; he was curious about the life experiences of his teammates after the Games; he wanted to "gain a greater sense of the total team contribution beyond the medal count." He also wanted to exchange "stories" about Olympic experiences and he wanted to "recapture and celebrate the excitement of Olympic experiences." Lough saw the re-assembly as an opportunity for social interaction and social service; he thought the team could inspire others and contribute to the community; and, finally, he recognized in the re-assembled team and its individual members, a reservoir of historical data with great potential value to scholars and the public.[2] Lough's motives for preserving the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic team are profound. They incorporate all the reasons why the team legacy is important to Lough, to his teammates, and to others.

Lough began his team re-assembly mission by calling the few teammates for whom he had current contact information. He recruited their assistance, asking them to help him assemble contact information for other team members, who were then contacted and asked to help locate even more teammates. Lough used the USOC 1968 yearbook and contacted the United States Olympians and Paralympians Association for directory assistance and also consulted the online Olympic Athlete Directory to develop a master listing from which to work.[3] Internet search engines, social networking sites, alumni associations, and sports clubs yielded additional teammate contacts. Once Lough had located and recruited a team member from each sport/event, he had particularly good results with asking that team member to locate current contact information for the other

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[2] M. Thomas Lough, "Rekindling the Flame: How to Reassemble Your Olympic Team", September 21, 2011.

[3] Ibid.; "Olympic Athlete Directory | Olympics at Sports-Reference.com", n.d., http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics/athletes/.

representatives of that sport/event. He decided to expand his efforts to include "all athletes and coaches who were outfitted, credentialed, and transported to the Mexico City Olympic site. In general, this covered all persons listed in the team yearbook along with a few qualified others"—a total of four hundred and seventy-five individuals.[4]

By October 2008, the fortieth anniversary of the 1968 Games, Lough had been able to establish contact with three hundred and fifty-nine teammates. Forty-three of these members attended a team reunion Lough organized to coincide with the fortieth anniversary.[5] Lough determined that three hundred and eight five of these are still living and he is now in contact with three hundred and sixty of these team members.[6] As this alumni group as grown, Lough expanded it to include staff members who were not listed in the USOC yearbook.

Lough maintains contact with the team members through a quarterly team bulletin, an electronic publication that he distributes via email. Lough has also conducted several surveys to determine team member interest in various re-assembly activities (reunions, conference calls, service projects, etc.). About one hundred and forty team members maintain contact and share photographs and film clips with each other via Facebook, You Tube, LinkedIn, and Skype, though regular mail and phone calls are still the preferred method of contact for most of the teammates. Lough maintains contact with these by mailing them a copy of the team bulletin and by calling them on their birthdays—something he tries to do for all the members. The re-assembled team has created its own social network wherein members have been able to share recollections and historical artifacts, refer each other for professional services, provide emotional

[4] Lough, "Rekindling the Flame: How to Reassemble Your Olympic Team."
[5] M. Thomas Lough, email to the author, April 21, 2012.
[6] Ibid.

support to families of recently deceased team members, and provide assistance to Olympians in financial need via the nonprofit Olympians for Olympians Relief Fund. Lough cites an example of a special way that teammates have been able to help each other:

> For example, there were nearly sixty teammates who had never received their team ring or had it lost, stolen, or damaged. In coordination with Cindy Stinger, I helped to make special arrangements with Jostens to take care of these problems. I also discovered that many teammates did not have team yearbooks, so I began purchasing used yearbooks where I could find them (e.g., eBay) and make them available. I was also able to help with a few participation medals in a similar way.[7]

In September 2010, Tom Lough approached the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports (Stark Center) to explore forming a partnership to preserve the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. The Stark Center, a recognized research center at the University of Texas at Austin, is a library, archive, and exhibition space dedicated to documenting, preserving, and sharing the history of physical culture and sports. The Stark Center's Co-Directors Dr. Terry Todd and Dr. Jan Todd and the Center's Assistant Director for Academic Affairs, Dr. Thomas Hunt, are experts in the fields of Olympic studies and sports history. The Stark Center also has on its staff a full-time professional sports librarian, Cindy Slater. One of the few sports librarians in the country, Slater was Manager of Libraries and Archives at the U.S. Olympic Committee in

[7] Lough, "Rekindling the Flame: How to Reassemble Your Olympic Team;" also, in an email to the author, April 22, 2012, Lough explained that Jostens was the ring manufacturer selected in 1968 to provide what may have been the first U.S. Olympic Team ring. Also, Cynthia E. Stinger is the manager of the U.S. Olympians Association.

Colorado Springs for twenty years before coming to the Stark Center. The Stark Center is also included on the IOC's list of Olympic Study Centers.

The Stark Center's staff were interested in working with Lough to preserve the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team for several reasons, but primarily because many scholars regard the 1968 Games in Mexico City as among the most historically and culturally significant in the modern history of the Olympic Movement—and they were certainly among the most influential in terms of historic "firsts" and their impact on modern American culture.

For example, these were the first Olympic Games to systematically conduct gender verification tests and the first to test and disqualify for the use of banned and performance enhancing substances.[8] While the first implementation of systematic gender verification tests at the '68 Games represented a set-back for women's rights, Norma Enriqueta Basilio, a star hurdler on the Mexican Olympic team, became the first woman to light the Olympic cauldron at the end of the torch relay.[9] Also, when forty-one year-old fencer Jan Romary carried the U.S. flag in the opening ceremony, it was the first time an American female athlete had done so.[10]

These were the first Games to broadcast in color to the world's televisions; they were "the first to use the Olympic design in logos, signage, publications and urban and public decorations;" these were the first Games "to use a synthetic track for training and events;" they were "the first in which the public participated in the closing ceremony;"

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[8] Kevin B Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), 137–138.
[9] Joseph L. Arbena, *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1996), 142.
[10] Richard Hoffer, *Something in the Air: American Passion and Defiance in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics*, 1st Free Press hardcover ed. (New York: Free Press, 2009), 124.

and the '68 Games represented "the first time that apartments in the Olympic village were rented and later sold for private occupation."[11]

In the United States, the '68 Games are also remembered for the record-breaking performances of Wyomia Tyus, Bob Beamon, and Dick Fosbury among many others. Tyus won her second gold medal for the one hundred meter race in 1968, again setting a world record. Beamon cleared the men's long jump by more than two feet ahead of his nearest competitor, breaking not only the twenty-eight foot barrier but the twenty-nine foot barrier as well, setting a new world record of twenty-nine feet, two and one-half inches; the record would stand until 1991. Fosbury introduced a new technique to the world in the high jump event; he floated over, back facing the bar, head and shoulders first. He easily won the gold at seven feet, four and a quarter inches. Al Oerter captured his fourth consecutive gold medal in the discus event and Debbie Meyer, at only sixteen years old, became the first swimmer to win three individual gold medals.[12]

These were also the first games held in Latin America and in a Spanish-speaking country and they were also the first Games to include a cultural festival component, "now accepted as part of Olympic tradition."[13] Witherspoon remarks,

> The Cultural Olympics equaled, and in some ways surpassed the athletic contests: more nations—and more individuals—participated in the cultural events; the artistic achievements were warmly received by spectators and critics and played out before huge audiences; and in some cases the artwork produced for the Games still stands while few of the athletic records lasted more than a few years . . . The

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[11] Keith Brewster and Claire Brewster, "Mexico City's Hosting of the 1968 Olympic Games," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 6 (2009): 840–865.
[12] Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*, 125–128; also see Joseph L. Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1996), 139–147.
[13] Ibid., 72.

> Cultural Olympics was an accomplishment without blemish, a testament to all that was right in Mexico.[14]

According to Witherspoon, the Cultural Olympics served several purposes: "first, they served as a form of advertising for the Olympics;" second, they "advanced understanding and appreciation of other peoples and cultures;" third, they leveled "the playing field, allowing smaller or poor nations to compete in the same arena with the super-powers;" and "finally, the Cultural Olympics would send a message to the rest of Latin America and the world that Mexico was a modern and progressive country," a premier destination for tourists and foreign investors alike.[15]

Sports historian Alyson Wrynn wrote that in the years leading up to Mexico City Olympics, "the most hotly debated topic surrounding the Games was what might be the effect of high altitude on athletic performance."[16] It is easy to understand why this was the case. The 1968 Mexico City Games were at 7,400 feet above sea level; no Olympic Games before or since have been held at such high elevation.[17] Mexico City stands in stark comparison to former Olympic host cities. Indeed, by my own calculations, the next highest host city would have been Squaw Valley, the site of the 1960 Winter Games, with an elevation just over 6,000 feet. The Summer Games host city with the closest elevation to Mexico City may have been Munich, at over 1,600 feet. The average altitude for

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 72–73.

[16] Alison M. Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears': Science, IOC Politics and the Debate About High Altitude in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 7 (2006): 1152.

[17] Joseph L. Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," in *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, ed. John E Findling and Kimberly D Pelle (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1996), 141.

Summer Games from 1896 to 2012, not counting Mexico City, is 264 feet.[18] The average altitude for Winter Olympic host cities is 2,393 feet.[19]

Wrynn explained:

> The 1968 Mexico City Olympics are an ideal vehicle through which the history of scientific, particularly physiological, research in relation to athletic performance can be examined. The 1968 Olympic Games would be the most scientifically studied sports event up to that point in history. They drew the largest contingent of physicians and physiologists ever assembled at a sports event. The six years preceding the Games consisted of a series of research projects at high altitude, using athletes as subjects, and public debate among scientists, coaches and athletes as to the best method of training for competition at high altitude.[20]

Athletes for whom "thin air" or lack of atmospheric resistance would be an advantage, long jumpers for example, looked forward to excelling while endurance athletes dreaded the effect oxygen deprivation might have on their performance. The results were as predicted; Ethiopians and Kenyans who lived and trained at high altitudes swept the distance running events while expected favorites such as Australia's Ron Clarke and American Jim Ryun, faired poorly in comparison. In fact, Clarke collapsed at the end of his race and remained unconscious for ten minutes.[21] Historian Joseph Arbena explains,

> Across the Games themselves, almost certainly the altitude did have an effect on performance, especially at the shorter racing distances and in field events, as well as among athletes who had trained extensively far enough above sea level; it often hampered those who had not. The sport that seemed to suffer most from the thin air was rowing; oxygen resuscitations were required on at least sixteen occasions. For whatever combination of factors, these Games witnessed some remarkable feats; 252 competitors surpassed previous Olympic records . . . In total,

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[18] All calculations were done by the author using Google satellite maps.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears'," 1154.
[21] Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears'."

> competitors matched or surpassed twenty-four world and fifty-six Olympic records.[22]

Although the drug testing and gender verification introduced in 1968 had a profound impact on the relationship between human performance and the Olympic Movement, Wrynn believes, "The debate surrounding altitude prior to the 1968 Games was perhaps the first instance when IOC members were compelled to comprehend complex scientific data on human performance."[23] Some national teams spent enormous sums in an attempt to acclimatize their athletes to the conditions of Mexico City; nations with fewer resources had to make do with what little they could afford. Out of concerns for upholding the ideals of amateurism, the IOC imposed limits on the amount of time national teams and athletes could spend at special training camps—normally four weeks. But they made a special exception for 1968, extending the special training camp time allotment to six weeks.[24] According to Wrynn,

> Perhaps one of the factors that spelled the end of amateurism was the understanding that living and training at altitude could potentially improve performance in certain events. Thus, athletes needed the freedom to live and train where it would best improve their performance.[25]

The selection of Mexico City as the site of the 1968 Games had far-reaching consequences for the Olympic Movement: the science of elite human performance and the money necessary to fund it would forever be associated with the Olympic Movement; nations would establish Olympic training camps at high altitudes; and true amateurism

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[22] Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," 143.
[23] Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears'," 1154.
[24] Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears'."
[25] Ibid., 1165.

within the Olympic Movement ceased to exist. Independent of site selection, commercialism began to establish a strong presence in the Games in 1968:

> The Games, both Winter and Summer, generated a spate of stories about athletes who received gifts or kickbacks for their participation. A major source of income was the makers of sports equipment who paid athletes to wear their products and display their brand names conspicuously. Pressure to do this increased as television became more intrusive. Mexico City represented the first serious attempt at live broadcasting for a major market, the success of which would generate a television explosion at future Games. The IOC wanted the revenue, the manufacturers wanted the exposure, and the athletes wanted pay for their cooperation. This alliance would eventually bring openly professional athletes to virtually all Olympic sports, as fans and sponsors sought the best athletes, and the IOC could not disrupt the Games by banning so many obvious violators.[26]

Occurring in a political landscape rife with Cold War tensions and coinciding with the height of the Viet Nam War and a global student protest movement, the 1968 Games were also the first to include an official team from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).[27] Although the U.S. won more medals than ever before, these Games are remembered, with other Games that occurred during the Cold War, for fierce Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Bloc.[28] Writing about Cold War American sport policy during the Johnson administration, Thomas M. Hunt asserts,

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[26] Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," 141; also see Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics, a History of the Modern Games*, Illinois History of Sports (Urbana [Ill.]: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

[27] Alfred Erich Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1999), 127. Although the GDR won official recognition from the IOC and sent its own national team to both the Winter and Summer Games in 1968, Guttmann claims that 1972 was the first time East Germans competed in their own uniforms and with their own flag and anthem; see Guttmann, *The Olympics, a History of the Modern Games*, 136; however, Witherspoon noted, "East and West Germany flew separate flags at the Closing Ceremony of the 1968 Olympics for the first time." Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World,* 139.

[28] Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 142; Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World,* 146-147.

"Sport was perceived as an instrument for both the promotion of American interests and the negation of countervailing strategies on the part of the country's enemies."[29]

Held just four months after the assassination of Senator and Presidential Candidate, Robert Kennedy and six months after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the numerous subsequent race riots that engulfed cities across the United States, the 1968 Games were a watershed moment in the American politics, the Civil Rights Movement, and in the sporting boycott of apartheid South Africa; human rights protests around the globe and the political maneuvers of African nations helped to successfully thwart South Africa's proposed re-inclusion in the 1968 Games.[30]

In the year leading up to the Games, African-American Olympic athletes threatened non-violent protests and a boycott to bring attention to athletes' struggles for equal rights and fair treatment. This movement, called the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR) was co-founded by Martin Luther King, Jr. and spearheaded by Harry Edwards, an African American professor of sociology at San Jose State.[31] The first white supporters of the OPHR movement were an unlikely group—as opposite in life experience and privilege to African Americans as any members of American society could possibly be; the Harvard heavyweight eight-man crew team were not only the first official white supporters, they were also among the few to support the movement generally. Ultimately, the OPHR failed to gain momentum even among African-American athletes.[32]

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[29] Thomas M. Hunt, "American Sport Policy and the Cultural Cold War: The Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Years," *Journal of Sport History* 33, no. 3 (2006): 288.
[30] Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 134–139.
[31] Hoffer, *Something in the Air*, 62; see also Smith and Steele, *Silent Gesture* and Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle : The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
[32] Smith and Steele, *Silent Gesture*.

Two weeks after winning the right to represent the U.S. in the 1968 Games, the Harvard rowers held a joint press conference with Edwards in Cambridge to announce their support for the African-American athletes and the OPHR. The rowers then embarked on a letter-writing campaign in which they typed and mailed over three hundred letters to members of the U.S. Olympic Team in order to explain their position and bring awareness to the injustices faced by African-American athletes.[33] While some commended the Harvard men for their efforts at improving racial consciousness, others subjected them to vitriolic condemnation. The crew was lambasted as "shaggies," hippies, and "Berkeley radicals" by many whites and criticized by some black leaders as white liberals who nonetheless encapsulated white superiority and racism, the rowers also faced the displeasure of the USOC, jeopardizing their place on the U.S. Olympic Team.[34] The crew was reprimanded for wearing OPHR buttons in the Denver airport while officials ignored the African American women athletes wearing them.[35] During a reception, one crewman overheard an Olympic booster say, "There's the Harvard crew, looking dirty as ever."[36] The white manager of the boxing team threatened the 5 ft. 9 in., 110 pound Harvard coxswain, Paul Hoffman, for giving an OPHR button to a boxer, saying he would "knock his head off" if he continued to "intimidate" the boxers, a team

[33] Andrew Larkin, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History," interview by author, digital recording of interview by phone, October 6, 2011, The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports.
[34] Ibid; Scott Steketee, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History," interview by author, digital recording of interview by phone, November 22, 2011, The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports. No Writer Attributed, "Olympics '68: The Politics of Hypocrisy," *The Harvard Crimson* (Cambridge, Mass, November 6, 1968).
[35] No Writer Attributed, "Olympics '68: The Politics of Hypocrisy," *The Harvard Crimson* (Cambridge, Mass, November 6, 1968).
[36] Ibid.

that included George Foreman, winner of the heavyweight gold medal in the '68 Games.[37]

While the project had initially been a bi-racial endeavor, some African-American groups, the media, and the U.S. Olympic committee later tried to paint the movement as solely African-American. When most of the U.S. Team was in Colorado for final preparations before the Games, it seemed that the African-American athletes no longer wanted to work with the Harvard team. As the coxswain, Hoffman, explained, "[We] had a lot of ability that was never called upon," and "I had hoped for a more uniform and widespread action which would have been well explained in a statement signed by both whites and blacks."[38] Crewmember Andrew Larkin agreed, saying the movement had been a bi-racial effort to call attention to racism in the U.S. but was purposely presented to the American public as a militant black movement.[39]

Members of the USOC wanted to send the crew home from high altitude training in Colorado. While there, the crew received a letter from the President of the USOC warning them against violating rule nine of the U.S. Olympic Constitution—"disruption" via their "rather strenuous program of civil rights and social justice."[40] The rebuke continued,

> Civil rights and the promotion of social justice may have their place in various facets of society, but certainly this sort of promotion has no place in the Olympic Games, and particularly when they are held in a foreign country, which country is not involved in these internal problems of ours.[41]

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Andrew Larkin, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History."
[40] Simon Henderson, "'Nasty Demonstrations by Negroes': The Place of the Smith–Carlos Podium Salute in the Civil Rights Movement," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 29 (March 1, 2010): 78–92.
[41] Ibid.

However, Mexico City was also in the throes of civil rights disputes, which resulted in one of the most egregious abuses of human rights ever committed in that nation. Just ten days before the start of the Games, a student-led, non-violent demonstration, which drew a crowd of approximately five thousand people, ended in the government-sanctioned slaughter of two hundred to three hundred and fifty unarmed civilians, the wounding of up to one thousand more, and the imprisonment and torture of hundreds or even thousands.[42]

Accounts vary widely as to the exact numbers and the reason for the protest. In general, what sparked the student movement in Mexico was the student and laborer perception of the Mexican government as a repressive regime in need of reform. Students complained that the government violated their constitutional rights, authorized excessive use of force and police brutality, and spent an excessive amount of money hosting the Olympic Games when the country was fraught with serious social problems that required the government's full attention. The demonstration that led to the massacre was a gathering in support of a general strike; student representatives of the National Strike Committee were addressing a peaceful crowd just before shots rang out. Many of the demonstrators, as well as many bystanders, may have been killed by a special police force tasked with ensuring security during the Games.[43]

Witherspoon explained, "For the Mexican government, swift and violent force was the only way to subdue the students before they could threaten the Olympics."[44]

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[42] See Elena Poniatowska, *Massacre in Mexico* (New York: Viking Press, 1975); also see Joseph L. Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," 139–147; Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World,* 106-122.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World*, 119.

Afterwards, the Mexican government led a massive cover-up. Police confiscated and destroyed every camera they saw and officials censored the local media. Without the oral testimony collected by Elena Poniatowska—"the voices bearing historical witness"—and published in her book, *Massacre in Mexico*, we might never have known the depths of the crimes against humanity perpetrated that day in 1968. John Hoberman called it "the worst crime in Olympic history" and dubbed it the "Tlatelolco massacre."[45] Despite the bloodshed and the security concerns, the president of the IOC, Avery Brundage, decided not to cancel the Games. In fact, he was in the dark or in denial about the massacre.[46] Interestingly, in his address to the IOC on the opening day of the Games, Brundage remarked, "Mexico has discovered that the more sport grounds and swimming pools provided for its young people, the fewer hospitals, the fewer jails, and the fewer asylums required. You don't find hippies, yippies or beatniks on sport grounds."[47]

Brundage, the first and only American and non-European ever to preside over the IOC, weathered another international incident—perhaps the most iconic moment of the 1968 Games—when Americans Tommie Smith and John Carlos, winners of the gold and bronze medals in the 200 meter race, silently raised black-gloved fists in the air during their medal ceremony. On the medal stand, Tommie Smith and Peter Norman (the white Australian silver medalist who supported the protest) both wore OPHR buttons given to them by the coxswain of the Harvard crew team.[48] The silent gesture was disturbing to many because it was made in "the sporting arena, a place that had consistently resisted

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[45] Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 138-139 citing John Milton Hoberman, *The Olympic Crisis: Sport, Politics and the Moral Order* (A.D. Caratzas, 1986).
[46] Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 139.
[47] Wrynn, "'A Debt Was Paid Off in Tears'," 1165, citing Avery Brundage, "Address at the Opening Session of the IOC" (International Olympic Committee, October 12, 1968), IOC Olympic Studies Centre Archives, located in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland.
[48] No Writer Attributed, "Olympics '68: The Politics of Hypocrisy."

the civil rights agenda."[49] Brundage referred to the protest as a "nasty demonstration by the negroes," reflecting not only a racist viewpoint, but also an "ideology dominated by a desire to keep politics separate from sport unless it served the interests of the sporting hierarchy."[50] Brundage later tried to force the Mexican organizing committee to remove footage of the Smith and Carlos protest from the film; they refused to do so and the film became the first and only official Olympic film to be nominated for an Academy Award.[51]

Figure 6: Peter Norman, Tommie Smith, and John Carlos protest on the medal podium during the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. Photo source: Associated Press, October 16, 1968, Sports Illustrated, http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2008/writers/austin_murphy/07/13/john.carlos/1.html.

[49] Simon Henderson, "'Nasty Demonstrations by Negroes': The Place of the Smith–Carlos Podium Salute in the Civil Rights Movement," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 29 (March 1, 2010): 78–92.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Brewster and Brewster, "Mexico City's Hosting of the 1968 Olympic Games."

The protest brought the Harvard crew renewed attention from Olympic officials, some of whom thought they should share the fate of Smith and Carlos who had been immediately expelled from the Olympic Village. The crew's coach remarked, "The Olympic Committee knew Hoffman [the coxswain] was in the stadium, talking to Smith's and Carlos's wives, and they saw it as an opportunity to punish him."[52] On the eve of the day the Harvard men were to face the five fastest crews in the world, they also had to do battle with Olympic officials when the coxswain was called before the IOC and USOC to answer for charges of disrupting the Games. The inquisition did not relent until after eleven o'clock at night, when the coxswain, as spokesman for the crew, pledged not to participate any further in demonstrations during the Games.[53] The crew may also have been saved from further interrogation by family connections and by the lack of evidence pointing to any real wrongdoing. At the Olympic rowing finals, in which Harvard finished sixth and last despite being one of the strongest crews ever to represent the U.S., Avery Brundage stood clapping for fifth place Czechoslovakia; then, as the Harvard crew rowed by, Brundage dropped his hands to his sides and stared in mute resignation.[54]

These Games witnessed another significant protest: a gymnast who shared the medal podium with two Soviets lowered her head and looked away in obvious disrespect as the Soviet anthem played during the medal ceremony. Yet, the Czechoslovakian woman, who was protesting the recent Soviet invasion of her home country, never

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[52] No Writer Attributed, "Olympics '68: The Politics of Hypocrisy."
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid. While some have speculated that the team's political activities hurt their performance, the author's interviews with crewmembers Steketee and Larkin reveal this not to be the case. Steketee and Larkin insist that intestinal illness combined with the high altitude and a mechanical problem with their shell ruined the crew's chances in competition.

received a rebuke from Olympic officials and was portrayed as something of a hero in the media.[55]

This unequal treatment by officials and the media highlighted the hypocrisy of Olympic and Cold War politics in 1968: the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet union were celebrated as Olympic champions even as protest against communist invasion was tacitly condoned by Olympic officials and openly fought in the jungles of Viet Nam; South Africa was openly banned from the Games because of their racist sporting policies while OPHR athletes were threatened by Olympic officials and villainized as leftist radicals. Similarly, the student protesters who had been slaughtered in the streets of Mexico City just before the Games had been painted as dangerous socialist agitators who posed a security threat to a peaceful Olympics. As a Harvard crewman later noted, the irony did not escape him when the "peace doves" released during the opening ceremony proceeded to defecate on the Olympic athletes as they circled the air above the stadium.[56]

Choosing a methodology

As a result of their meeting in September of 2010, Lough and Hunt decided to start a pilot oral history project as the first step in securing the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. Though there is interest among the team in assembling an archive of still and moving images, primary documents, and other material artifacts collected from team members, the costs associated with such an undertaking are prohibitive, especially in terms of storage space. But, oral history, too, would come with its own costs: staff and time for background research, trained interviewers, recording equipment, travel for

[55] Arbena, "Mexico City 1968: The Games of the XIXth Olympiad," 144.
[56] Andrew Larkin, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History."

interviews, space for conducting interviews, long distance telephone bills, informed consent and release forms, computer storage space and software for digital archiving, staff trained in digital archival methods, professional transcripts, transcript editing, collection management, public accessibility, etc.

Nevertheless, while Hunt and his team are interested in the primary documents that might be collected from the team, he first wanted to pursue a relatively novel approach to historical inquiry into the 1968 Games; he wanted to explore, not the Games as they were experienced in 1968, but the lived experience of the Games as it is remembered and reinterpreted by individuals in the present, forty years after the fact. Oral history is the perfect methodology for this line of inquiry, but other considerations also helped make an oral history project a compelling first choice for legacy preservation: the finite nature of our sources and the expandability of digital oral history. Given the aging of the team and the more durable characteristics of physical artifacts, we decided to make the collection and preservation of oral histories from 1968 U.S. Olympians a central priority

Nearly one hundred 1968 team members are now deceased and many others are suffering illness. With the loss of these remarkable lives, their experiences in the 1968 Games may pass beyond the point of recovery into oblivion. Thus, Hunt, Slater, and Lough determined that an oral history project should take priority over other possible methodologies for legacy preservation. Furthermore, given the impressive expandability of digital oral history, we reasoned that the oral histories would serve as a platform to which we could later add historical sources that do not necessarily depend on living memory—photographs, film, and other primary and secondary documents. Luckily, approximately three hundred team members have expressed interest in our efforts and

forty-eight of them have already contributed personal narratives, visual materials, and/or written documents to the legacy archive.

Conducting background research

In my role as project coordinator working under the supervision of Dr. Hunt, it was necessary for me to consult a number of sources on oral history and the 1968 Olympic Games in order to assist with project design and implementation. For information on oral history standards and best practices I frequently turned to the website of the Oral History Association.[57] The website of the Texas Oral History Association offered another wellspring of resources for this project, particularly with regard to interview transcription.[58] The Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University in Bloomington provided helpful guidance on conducting interviews.[59] I also frequently consulted several guidebooks.[60]

While many sources were consulted for background information on the 1968 Olympic Games, and 1968 in general, the most invaluable of these were Kevin Witherspoon's *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games,* the website Olympics at Sports-Reference.com, the digital archive accessed through the LA84 Foundation website, and Mark Kurlansky's, *1968: The Year That Rocked the*

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[57] See *Oralhistory.org*, http://www.oralhistory.org/do-oral-history/.

[58] See Baylor University, "Texas Oral History Association," *Texas Oral History Association*, n.d., http://www.baylor.edu/toha/; Baylor University Institute for Oral History, "Style Guide: A Quick Reference for Editing Oral Memoirs" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2007).

[59] See Barbara Truesdell, "Oral History Techniques: How to Organize and Conduct Oral History Interviews" (Center for the Study of History and Memory, Indiana University, January 11, 2011), http://www.indiana.edu/~cshm/oral_history_techniques.pdf.

[60] Texas Historical Commission, "Fundamentals of Oral History, Texas Preservation Guidelines;" Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*; Barbara Sommer and Mary Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2009); Thomas L. Charlton, *Oral History for Texans*, 2nd ed. (Texas Historical Commission, 1985).

World. [61] The documentary film, *Salute*, was also an influential source of background knowledge.[62]

Articulating the purpose

After conducting several pilot interviews, Dr. Hunt composed a mission statement for the project in March 2011. In it, he introduces and describes the sponsoring institution (the Stark Center) before explaining how the idea for the project originated. Finally, Hunt articulates the goals of our project and the purpose of our oral interviews:

> The preservation of those experiences therefore serves as the primary purpose of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project. In doing so, the Project will:
>
> 1. Record the words of each participating team member as a service to that individual and his or her family and descendants;
>
> 2. Accumulate material for historical research and teaching;
>
> 3. Provide members of the general public a prism through which to contemplate the Olympic Movement at a nuanced, personal level;
>
> 4. Inspire the youth of the world by exploring Olympism, a philosophy that places sport in service to peace, promotes the harmonious development of humankind, and champions the preservation of human dignity.
>
> Through the oral history interview process, we seek to preserve the personal experiences and reflections of individual Team members, in particular, those that have not been previously documented or revealed through traditional historical research. This oral legacy will be valued by historians, researchers, and students—by anyone who recognizes and respects the demanding path to excellence. [63]

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[61] See "Olympics at Sports Reference," *Olympics at Sports-Reference.com*, n.d., http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics; la84foundation.org; Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World*, 1st ed. (New York: Ballantine, 2004).
[62] Matt Norman, *Salute*, Documentary (Paramount, 2008).
[63] See Appendix A for the complete mission statement.

Legal and ethical considerations

After considering University policy and consulting a myriad of guides and sample forms, we developed a "Pre-Interview Informed Consent" document and an interview release agreement.[64] The purpose of the pre-interview informed consent document is to inform interviewees about the purposes and goals of the project, the rights of interviewees, the ethical responsibilities of interviewers and their sponsoring institution, and the anticipated methods of preservation and public access.

We debated whether or not to require interviewees to sign and return this document in acknowledgement of receipt, but since we were not actually meeting with the majority of our interviewees in person, we decided a verbal or email acknowledgement of receipt and understanding of the informed consent would suffice, especially because a signature was absolutely required for the interview release agreement.

All interviewees are asked to sign a release form granting the Stark Center and the 1968 Team Legacy project permission to use their interview, transcript, and any documents, photographs and/or films. The purpose of the release agreement is to allow us to make the interviews accessible to researchers and to the public. Legally, each interviewee owns their interview and retains ownership of the interview unless they provide us with a deed of gift, which gives us permission to use the interview and make it available to the public. We included a provision for embargo and other restrictions for those instances where an interviewee may have concerns about the content of the recording, the transcript, or their public use.[65]

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[64]We consulted, among others, Texas Historical Commission, "Fundamentals of Oral History, Texas Preservation Guidelines; "Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*; and Sommer and Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*. See Appendix B for our informed consent document.

[65] See release agreement in Appendix C.

The recommended best practice in oral history is for release forms to be signed immediately following the interview. However, because we have had to record the majority of our interviews over the phone, rather than in person, we found ourselves with more than thirty recorded interviews for which we had no signed release agreements; many of our interviewees were too busy to return the forms via the regular long distance means (mail, fax, email) or else they wanted to receive a full transcript before deciding whether or not to sign and return the form.

We felt this was setting a dangerous precedent and that we might soon end up with fifty to one hundred unusable interviews. Therefore, we made two important decisions: first, we would implement a system for acquiring signed release forms for all interviews in the archive; and second, we would require a signed release form prior to recording any interviews.

Selecting interview topics and questions

Our interview topics and questions have been largely informed by the major themes in existing historiography on the 1968 Games. Kevin Witherspoon's *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* has been the most influential of these texts. Hunt and Lough worked together to develop an initial set of interview topics according to their interests. Hunt, informed by his academic experience and research interests, sought to answer questions about the athletes' experiences with drug testing, altitude training, the Tlatelolco massacre, the Olympic Project for Human Rights, the Smith and Carlos protest, Soviet Bloc athletes, and amateurism. Lough, guided by his own vivid memories, wanted to know where the athletes were in the formation during the Parade of Nations, what their emotional experiences of the Opening Ceremonies were, and where they stayed in the Olympic Village. We have also included questions that aid

our examination of the meaning of *legacy,* particularly in connection with participation in the 1968 U.S. Olympic Games and we have included a question pertaining to advice for young athletes. After doing background research on 1968 and the Games, I and our team of interviewers contributed additional lines of inquiry.[66]

Recruiting interviewees and interviewers

Dr. Hunt's oral history interview with Tom Lough in September of 2010 served as our pilot oral history interview. Afterward, we expanded interviewee qualifications to include any team member, coach or official who wishes to participate. In February of 2011, Hunt interviewed a member of Lough's modern pentathlon team, Jim Moore, as well as a member of the men's swimming team, Doug Russell. Tom Lough made the initial contacts and interview requests before passing the contact information to Dr. Hunt.

Prior to the February 2011 interviews, Hunt recruited a team of interested graduate students and provided them with training in oral history, which included assignment of key texts, background research, and listening to several oral history interviews conducted by a professional historian. These students, including myself, were also present for the interviews with Moore and Russell, as this was part of the training. Due to the natural attrition caused by graduation, the changing interests of students, and variation in student workloads each semester, Dr. Hunt has had to recruit and train several more students since the fall of 2011. As a result of the mostly positive experiences I have had with these students, I cannot stress enough the importance of recruiting interviewers who are motivated and sincerely interested in the oral history project and subject matter of the interviews, especially if they are volunteers.

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[66] See Appendix D for an outline of all topics and questions developed by project staff and volunteers.

From the beginning, Tom Lough established his invaluable role as liaison between the 1968 U.S. Olympic team and Dr. Hunt's oral history project team. In his routine contact with team members, Lough informed them about the project and its goals and attempted to recruit volunteers to serve as interviewees. Initially, Lough sought to recruit one representative from each of the sports on the 1968 Olympic program. After we had interviewed at least one athlete from each of the sports, Lough also tried to ensure that we had a balanced mix of interviewees in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, and team position (athletes, alternates, coaches, other staff, etc.) My primary duty was to follow-up on the leads provided me by Tom Lough. As the list of potential interviewees grew, so did the task list of associated administrative duties; my role as project coordinator grew out of the need for someone to manage the day-to-day details of our expanding oral history project, particularly the scheduling and processing of interviews.

The oral history guides that I consulted recommended sending an introductory letter to potential interviewees, either by regular mail or by email, followed by a telephone meeting to discus the interview arrangements and legal considerations. Whether by email or regular mail, I send all interviewees an introductory letter, our informed consent document and the release form. In most cases, this communication is followed up by a phone conversation to confirm the receipt and understanding of the documents and to discuss scheduling the interview. While I now handle almost all of these interactions, I had previously relied on the other graduate student interviewers to help with some of this work.

Selecting recording methods and equipment

The oral history guides consulted for this project recommend the purchase of the highest quality recording equipment the project budget can afford. In most cases, video

recordings are preferable to audio-only recordings but due to budget and time restrictions we cannot afford the travel necessary to make video recordings. Therefore, most of our recordings have been—and will continue to be—done by phone. On the occasion that we are able to record an interview in person, our procedure is to check out video recording equipment from the University, including a tripod and an external, high quality professional microphone, if available. Otherwise, we use our digital voice recorder.

According to a guide to digital audio recording published by the Baylor Institute of Oral History:

> Digital recorders for oral history interviews must include the following features: record in uncompressed, WAV audio file format, . . . 16-bit, with a sampling rate of 44.1kHz; use readily available, high-capacity flash storage media; operate on both battery and plug-in power; provide easy USB connection for download of audio files to a computer; provide connection for an external microphone, preferably of the XLR professional audio type.[67]

We purchased a Sony ICD-SX700D Digital Voice Recorder for $215. It fulfills all of the requirements listed above, except for the last; it does not have an XLR professional audio type microphone input.

The Baylor guide to digital audio recording states, "Microphones appropriate for recording oral history interviews should be condenser type (as opposed to dynamic type)." While some field recorders come with condenser type microphones built-in, ours does not. However, plug-in condenser microphones can be purchased and "special cables can be bought or made to convert mini-plug connections to balanced XLR connections." The Shure A96F is one such cable; it retails for about $60, and would allow us to use a

[67] Baylor University Institute for Oral History, "Digital Audio Recording" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, n.d.), http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/79767.pdf.

condenser-type, balanced XLR professional microphone, such as the AKG C-1000, with our current recorder. The AKG C-1000 microphone retails for about $150.

Because a defining characteristic of the oral history interview is the interpersonal interaction between interviewer and interviewee, most of the oral history guides that I consulted recommended that oral history interviews be conducted and recorded in person. While the first two pilot interviews of our project were done in person (both Olympians happened to be in the Austin area at the time), the third interview had to be conducted over the phone because Dr. Hunt could not take leave form his duties at the University to travel to another city for the interview. Even if he were able to travel, he would not have been able to coordinate the travel of the graduate students whom he was training.

More importantly, the interviewee was unable to travel and also had a demanding schedule. As we examined our list of potential interviewees, spread out all over the United States and with some living on other continents, we confronted the infeasibility of traveling to conduct interviews in person. Moreover, time was paramount; we could not afford to wait until funding for project travel materialized even as we received regular notices from Lough about team members battling or succumbing to illness. Therefore, though not ideal, we determined that we would need to conduct the majority of our interviews over the phone. Nonetheless, these would still be legitimate oral history interviews if we followed oral history methodology and established, over the phone, interpersonal interaction between the interviewer and interviewee in the form of a conversation or dialogue built around a series of central questions.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any precedent or instruction for conducting and recording oral history interviews over the phone. However, I have been able to find information on recording broadcast-quality interviews over the phone and

over Skype.[68] During the past year, we conducted several tests using the Skype method but the audio quality was inferior to the method we are now using. For the time being, we have decided not to pursue the Skype method for two reasons: first, variation in Internet connectivity and bandwidth could lead to inferior audio quality and dropped calls; second, most of the interviewees do not use Skype and may be nervous or intimidated if asked to do so.

The most promising method for recording telephone interviews is that which uses an audio mixing device called a *hybrid*, which allows equalized recording of both sides of a telephone conversation with minimal disturbance from ambient noise. The interviewer's microphone and a digital recording device are plugged into the hybrid, which is then connected to the telephone. Analog hybrids can be purchased for $180 and digital hybrids for $450. Because this solution is technically complex and requires careful research on the type of phone system used on the recorder end it may be some time before our investigation into this method is complete and we are able to institute it in our oral history project.

[68] See Jeff Towne, "Recording Phone Calls," *Transom.org*, February 26, 2009, http://transom.org/?p=1165; Henry Howard, "Tele Taping," *Corporate Talk Radio*, n.d., http://www.corporatetalkradio.com/phone/phone.html; Doug Kaye and Paul Figgiani, "Skype for Interviews – A How-To Video", December 23, 2007, http://www.blogarithms.com/index.php/archives/2007/12/23/skype-for-interviews/.

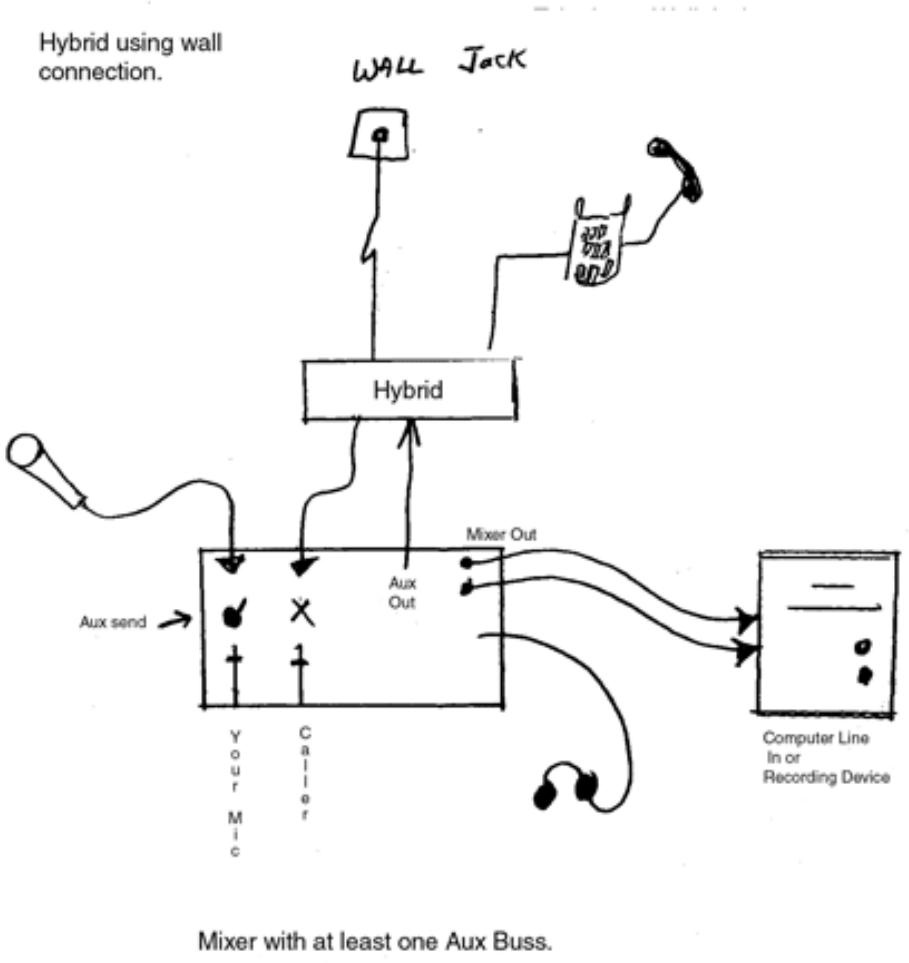

Figure 7: Diagram of hybrid phone recording method from Henry Howard, "Simple Set up for Using a Digital Hybrid," Corporate Talk Radio, http://www.corporatetalkradio.com/phone/hybridsetup.html.

The recording method we are using in the meantime is very simple and though the sound quality is not ideal, the interviews are usable for their content at least, if not for their form. Our method is to use a landline phone to dial the interviewee, who, ideally, is

also using a landline phone. After a short briefing, the interviewee is placed on speakerphone and the digital voice recorder is switched on and placed near the speaker before the official interview commences. The interviewer must ensure that his or her cell or smart phone is not in the room or is powered completely off because signals from cell towers cause noise, which adversely affects the sound quality of recordings.

We found it necessary to have two recorders because we had overlapping interviews on several occasions. And even when the interviews do not overlap, we have found a back-up recorder is essential in case of recorder malfunction.

Preparing for and conducting interviews

After sending the introduction letter and confirming receipt and understanding of the project documents and forms, I await receipt of the interviewee's signed interview release. Once it is received, I schedule the interview according to interviewee and interviewer availability. Both parties are asked to reserve one to two hours for the interview in a quiet, private space. Introduction letters and forms are sent by email, regular mail, or fax. Likewise, interviewees can return the signed release form as an attachment by email or via regular mail or fax. Another option is electronic signature; we use an Adobe Echosign account, which provides an extremely easy and efficient method for sending, receiving, tracking, and storing contracts requiring signatures.[69]

After scheduling the interview and reserving office space and recording equipment at the Stark Center, I confirm the date and time with the interviewee and interviewer, paying careful attention to time zones. All interviews must be conducted at the Stark Center, using our equipment, for legal, ethical, logistical, and quality control reasons; we have to keep the Stark Center operating hours in mind when scheduling

[69] See *Adobe Echosign*, http://www.echosign.com.

interviews. Interviewees are provided with a list of interview topics prior to the interview so that they can jog their memories and prepare accordingly. I also provide interviewees with my contact information and that of the interviewer and Stark Center. Interviewees are encouraged to contact us with any questions or concerns regarding the interview or the project. I provide the interviewer with the interviewee's contact information and the landline phone number that he or she is to call at the appointed interview time. I also provide some basic oral history interview tips and reminders and basic background information on the interviewee. [70] I ask the interviewer to conduct more in-depth research, write several personalized interview questions based on the research, and conduct a brief Q & A meeting with the interviewee prior to the interview.

Interviewers arrive before the appointed interview time to set up and test equipment. At the appointed time, the interviewer dials the interviewee. After confirming that the interviewee understands his or her rights and the purpose and format of the interview, the interviewer asks permission to switch on the voice recorder and begin the interview. Each interview begins with a lead statement recorded by the interviewer, followed by some basic biographical questions. A sample lead statement follows: Today is [month, date, year]. This is [interviewer's first and last name and position], at The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports at the University of Texas at Austin. I am interviewing Olympian [interviewee's first and last name] over the phone today in order to record [his/her] experiences and reflections of the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City.

[70] I have prepared a thorough "FAQ" document for the project interviewers; this document also explains all our procedures and processes.

At the close of the interview, the interviewer thanks the interviewee and explains the next step in our process—essentially that we will archive the digital recording and transcribe it as time and funding become available.

Caring for interview materials

Immediately after the interview the audio file is transferred to our dedicated project hard drive, which is backed-up to a shared drive, which is then backed-up on a remote server. After safe transfer and back up of the file has been confirmed, extraneous copies are deleted. We have forty-eight born-digital audio interview files in WAV format; these are our archive masters. From these, access copies agree made in MP3 format and stored in a separate location. When transcribing or editing audio files, we always work from a copy and never from the original. Our plan for preservation requires that we store all master files in two separate locations: the Dell web server maintained by the College of Education and a dedicated Seagate external hard drive kept in the Stark Center. We plan an annual review of the files with the intent to evaluate migration needs. Our use of current industry preservation master standards should make migration relatively straightforward.

Transcription

We have chosen to transcribe interviews according to the style guide created by Baylor University's Institute for Oral History because of its intermediary position between verbatim and edited transcripts and because it is based on the Chicago Manual of Style—a style guide frequently used in the humanities and by historians. We have tried a variety of transcription methods. For example, we tried to implement a process for student-workers and volunteers to transcribe our interviews. And while this produced

several high quality transcripts, we found that the overall quality, efficiency, and productivity of this endeavor were abysmal; depending on the quality of the audio recording, the character of the recorded speech, and the language skills, typing proficiency, interest, and motivation of the transcriptionists, we found that our student-workers needed from six to thirteen hours to transcribe just one hour of audio. Again, I cannot overemphasize the importance of recruiting staff that are truly motivated to listen to interviews and sincerely interested in the interview subject matter, particularly if they are students, interns, or volunteers.

We used Express Scribe, a free transcription software recommended by most of the oral history associations. "This is open-source, freely downloadable software for playback and transcription of digital audio files. It works as a software-only system, with playback of audio controlled with assigned keystrokes. It can also be used with separately purchased USB foot pedals."[71] I have tried transcribing in Express Scribe using the USB foot pedal and found it fairly effective and faster than transcribing without the pedal or with keyboard shortcuts. We have also experimented with speech recognition and automated or machine transcription using Windows speech recognition engine and Dragon Naturally Speaking software. Unfortunately, this technology requires a fair amount of training the computer to an individual voice; it cannot transcribe recordings in which there is more than one voice; and it cannot understand speech that has been recorded over the phone. After spending thirty minutes to train the software to my voice, I made a recording of myself speaking, verbatim, every word of one of our recorded oral history interviews. The computer was able to transcribe this with a fair degree of accuracy, shaving hours off my transcription time. The computer took several hours to

[71] Baylor University Institute for Oral History, "Digital Audio Recording."

transcribe my recording but as I set the machine to its task just before I left the office for the evening, I did not count this time in the total. However, because of the man-hours required to complete the voice training, "parrot" an entire interview, and proofread the results of the automated machine transcription, this method only has an advantage over the traditional method in cases where people have difficulty typing.[72]

After trying the services of a professional transcriptionist for two of the interviews, we found that we were very pleased with the quality and speed of her work. At an average cost of $1.66 per minute of audio recording, we estimate the cost of transcribing forty of our interviews at just over $5,000. Therefore, we are trying to secure funding to have at least thirty-seven to forty more interviews transcribed over the next two years. Transcripts of audio interviews will be created in Microsoft Word 2010 file format.[73] Preservation masters and access copies will be made and stored in separate locations.

Basic record-keeping

From the very first interview we have maintained a database for record-keeping purposes. We record the following:

- Full name, Olympic event/sport, and contact information for each Olympian;
- The dates and results of communication and attempts to contact;
- Whether signed release forms have been obtained;

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[72] See Baylor University Institute for Oral History, "Style Guide: A Quick Reference for Editing Oral Memoirs" (Baylor University Institute for Oral History, 2007).

[73] Although there is some debate about which file format is the best for preservation and migration—text, Word, or PDF—our archivist believes that it is highly unlikely that giant Microsoft will succumb to obsolescence; therefore, we've chosen Word as our preservation format for transcripts.

- Restrictions noted on release form;
- The date of the recorded oral history interview and the name of the interviewer;
- The length of the interview in minutes and the format and size of audio files;
- Whether a transcript has been started or completed;

The structure and organization of our electronic files is another component of our record keeping. Nested within the digital archive is an electronic folder for each interviewee; these are named by interviewee last name first, followed by the first name. Within each individual interviewee folder are five separate folders for storing interview recordings, transcripts, still and moving images, documents, and rights/legal paperwork.

Inclusion of photographs, film, and documents

Oral histories are enormously more impactful when they are presented in rich multi-media formats. Luckily, members of the 1968 Team possess substantial ephemeral materials, including film, photographs, and other media. We plan to expand the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project with the gradual inclusion of digitized forms of these materials. The inclusion of these materials will contextualize the oral history interviews within the broader socio-cultural history of 1968. We have already collected a fair amount of digitized photos, film, and documents from several athletes and nearly everyone that we've interviewed so far (forty-eight) has expressed an interest in contributing to this collection. We will require that owners either transfer copyright to the Stark Center or that they give us explicit permission to use their materials.

We will continue to scan archive masters of documents using an in-house Epson Expression 10000XL Large-Format Flatbed Photo Scanner with Adobe Acrobat X Pro

software (.TIFF). We will scan photographs using the same scanner but with Adobe CS5 Photoshop software (.TIFF). Films will be outsourced to the Texas Archive for the Moving Image (TAMI) for transfer to digital format (.AVI). We will produce master archive copies of all materials and these will be made available to researchers upon request.

Content management and public access

We plan to make all access copies of archive materials available through the Stark Center web pages via the Internet. All material may be used for educational, editorial, or informational purposes without restriction, unless otherwise noted on release forms. Commercial use of any material will not be permitted without written permission of both the Stark Center and the interviewee(s). The 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project will produce a rich and enduring toolset for teaching, learning, and scholarship for future generations of educators, students, and researchers around the world. Already, a young relative of one of our project contributors has requested a copy of an interview transcript for use in a school humanities project. Students enrolled in Olympic and sports history courses at the University of Texas may be the first to realize the full benefits of this project, which will serve not only as a model for preserving and disseminating the legacies of Olympic teams, but will also serve the broader national library, museum, and archive community as an enduring example of sports heritage preservation.

To help us achieve our lofty project goals, a faculty member affiliated with the UT School of Information advised us to consider GLIFOS, a relatively new social rich-media content management platform that would allow team members, in wiki-like fashion, to continue contributing to collections in the future. GLIFOS ensures broad

interoperability, adaptability, and potential for integration into large-scale initiatives. The software permits unlimited content files as well as unlimited reuse/re-purposing of content. The software also provides a simple, open mechanism for customizing the appearance of the user interface. GLIFOS automates the production, cataloguing, digital preservation, access, and sharing of rich-media over diverse presentation devices (PCs, PDAs, smart phones), data transport platforms (Web, streaming media, CDs, DVDs), and operating systems (Windows, Mac OS, Linux). It integrates current standards (e.g., eXtensible Markup Language, Dublin Core) to ensure interoperability and to simplify the exchange of bibliographic records, conversion of databases, implementation of collective catalogs, and automatic extraction of cataloging information. Because GLIFOS automates workflows and uses a web-based, open specification, it functions independently from human expertise, technologies, platforms, and formats—guaranteeing digital preservation through content portability to future platforms.

With customization, GLIFOS is Dublin Core compatible. All access copy files receive metadata creation at the time of inclusion into their respective GLIFOS pages. If we used GLIFOS for our digital archive, we would follow the excellent metadata model created by the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History to describe records in their Texas Legacy Project oral history collection. We would use Library of Congress authority files for names and topics, supplemented by names and topics from the SIRC (Sport Information Resource Centre Canada) Thesaurus for more specific sport-related terms.

Figure 8: GLIFOS metadata fields screenshot from the web archive of the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

We hope to use this innovative software to combine, in an integrated fashion, a large set of historically significant primary sources with social rich-media toolsets to enhance access to—as well as understanding of—the legacy of the 1968 Games and the Olympic Movement. To this end, we have begun to develop a prototype in collaboration with the UT School of Information, using their GLIFOS software and hosting server.

We are currently in the process of requesting funds for the one-time license purchase fee GLIFOS-social media (GSM) v. 5.0. The software will used to index,

manage, and present all 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive material. GLIFOS would need to be installed and maintained on a Dell PowerEdge R610 server, which will run Flash 4.5 for streaming media and use the open-source Red Hat (Linux based) operating system. In addition, we would use Adobe Web Premium v.5.5 (web development software), iMovie '11 (moving image manager), Adobe Photoshop CS5, (still image manager) and Audacity 1.3, an open source audio file manager and editing software.

Because we do not have the budget to purchase GLIFOS software at this time, we have been searching for digital oral history models that we might replicate now, within our diminutive budget. The Whole World Was Watching: An Oral History of 1968 struck us as an excellent early example of a digital oral history collection that featured streaming audio of interviews, transcripts, and tables of cues and contents.[74] Its website also included a glossary, timeline, and bibliography. However, each of these components could only be accessed separately through hyperlinks to individual web pages possessing different URL addresses.

More recent online oral history projects sometimes feature transcripts accessible through pop-up or embedded windows located on the same page as streaming audio or video players. These usually included collection-wide indexes and finding aids developed from metadata fields and uniform term lists. Related digital objects such as archive photos and documents are at times appended to transcripts or made accessible through finding aids in separate collections. Other projects feature slide shows of photographs synchronized with close-captioned audio interviews. A few of the most advanced

[74] South Kingstown High School and Brown University's Scholarly Technology Group, "The Whold World Was Watching: An Oral History of 1968", 1998, http://www.stg.brown.edu/projects/1968/.

collections utilize Geo-Information Systems (GIS) technologies to complement their oral history materials with interactive maps and timelines.

In terms of search functionality, we found a great deal to like about the Oral History Metadata Synchronizer (OHMS), a web-based system recently created by the Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History at the University of Kentucky. This system enables users to perform key word searches across the oral history transcripts in a particular online collection as well as across their other digital oral histories holdings.

Nevertheless, none of the systems we've encountered for organizing and presenting digital oral history rivals GLIFOS. Many of the online multimedia collections that we've examined appear unprepared for the challenges of compatibility, interoperability, and technical obsolescence. Most require users to download files or software plug-ins to access their digital media players. Some digital oral history collections allow access only to excerpts of interviews and many more simply offer collections of talking heads or disembodied voices—a disservice to audiences who need the added accessibility of closed-captioning, full transcripts, and full-length interviews to facilitate comprehension or research. Furthermore, it is standard practice to present digital archive recordings, documents, ephemera, and still and moving images as isolated artifacts in separate collections, even if they are closely related to one another. This treatment of digital humanities objects deprives them of context and deters users from deeper exploration and understanding.

Through the use of GLIFOS, we think the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project will build upon current digital oral history practice by:

- Preserving and disseminating the history of the 1968 U.S. Olympic team through personal narratives in the form of born-digital recorded interviews, interview transcripts, and written memoirs; correspondence such as letters, postcards, and diaries; and visual materials including photographs, film, drawings, and scrapbook items;
- Exploring the central questions of sports legacy preservation through the unique perspectives of Olympic athletes;
- Seamlessly integrating multiple media (video and/or audio) within the same content page with transcripts, table of contents, documents, photographs, and digitized archival film footage;
- Synchronizing and fully integrating videos streamed directly from online video content sites such as You Tube;
- Displaying synchronized full transcripts and/or archival photo slide shows with audio and video interviews so that users can simultaneously read and listen to interviews enriched by relevant archival images and documents;
- Incorporating Geo-Information Systems (GIS) technology to geo-locate places and concept terms in interviews and link them to historical maps, satellite imagery, digital photographs, and other resources;
- Allowing users to link directly from indexes and tables of contents to specific segments of interviews;

- Allowing users to perform word-level full-text searches across all interview transcripts in the collection and link directly to corresponding search terms where they occur in interview transcripts and recordings;
- Enabling users to share comments and posts and to mark very specific segments within an interview recording to save in a browser's bookmarks, generate URL links to include in other webpages or documents, send by email, or share them through a social networking site (e.g., Facebook, Digg);
- Crowd-sourcing social tagging of archive images to assist with correct identification of people, places, and events.

It may be some time before we purchase GLIFOS or find an alternative content management system for the '68 archive; in the interim, we want to make rights-secured digital archive materials accessible to the public. At the same time, we needed to establish a web presence for the project in order to provide our project staff and interviewees with a convenient and efficient method of accessing project documents and information; we'd also hoped that a project web page would lend the project more legitimacy and aid in recruiting interviewees. The project web page was developed and maintained by the Stark Center's web development staff. As of May, 2012, there were four interview recordings with full-text searchable, synchronized transcripts available for public access on the project web page and we expect to have four more available by the end of 2012.[75]

[75] See the project web page and access four of the interviews at http://www.starkcenter.org/about/institute/1968/.

Digital archive project design and implementation

The over-arching goal of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive project is to preserve the legacy of the team but our more immediate aim is the implementation and evaluation of a digital model for enhancing the management, presentation, and access of sports heritage collections. In implementing our model, this project will also provide wide online access to an important and unique primary source—the oral histories of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team.

Once rich-media software is purchased and installed, staff will begin the creation of separate rich-media pages for each oral history. Interviews that still require a transcription will be outsourced. Staff and student volunteers will synchronize audio, transcript, still/moving images, and text files for each interview, as well as record metadata for each record. In addition, links to relevant historical and analytical documents, images, and artifacts will be embedded. All policies/procedures will be carefully documented in order to create an easily adapted toolkit. Should we acquire the necessary funding, we plan to do the following within the first year of receipt of funds:

- Hire a Project Coordinator and Digital Archivist;
- Purchase, install, implement, and customize GLIFOS platform;
- Finalize metadata structure and collection process, relying on structure created and used on the Texas Legacy Project and referring to the Library of Congress PREMIS standards;
- Migrate to and manage digital archive collection in GLIFOS;

- Produce high-quality transcriptions for existing born-digital interviews, following Transcribing Style Guide created by Baylor University's Institute for Oral History;
- Initiate the compilation and digitization of auxiliary materials (photos, film, documents, ephemera, etc.)
- Coordinate with School of Information faculty to train volunteer graduate students;
- Develop a model library of ten interviews and complete documentation and evaluation;
- Ensure relevant rights and credits are secured for all materials to be made accessible to the public;
- Begin initial publicity efforts through Stark Center web site, appropriate listservs, and University of Texas media outlets.

In the second year, we plan to:

- Complete population of GLIFOS with remaining existing interviews;
- Integrate GLIFOS pages into Stark Center web site;
- Complete all evaluation processes.
- Finalize integration, synchronization, and online publication of all interview pages;
- Create legacy project introduction page and integrate into Stark Center web site, using feedback from usability and content evaluation feedback;

- Facilitate, encourage, and monitor audience contributions such as commentary, photo posting, and social tagging of archive images to assist with correct identification of people, places, and events;
- Create a final toolkit for sports legacy preservation from on-going documentation process and prepare the toolkit for web site dissemination;
- Implement widespread publicity efforts.

To further the reach of our project and to provide a model for sports legacy preservation that others may emulate, we hope to make our project's digital products, outcomes, and deliverables, such as toolkits and technical documentation, accessible through various communication channels to sport organizations as well as to the museum, library, and archive fields and to other professional organizations and communities of practice. Communications would take the form of press releases, announcements, brochures, conference presentations, symposia, white papers, journal publications, thesis, dissertations, a book, curricula, and various forms of electronic communication.

Funding

Sports teams, organizations, and individuals seeking to preserve sports legacies may facilitate their goals through partnership with an interested library, museum, hall of fame, archive, or educational institution. Chambers of commerce and tourism boards may also be interested partners in sports legacy preservation. If no interested partners can be found, those wishing to preserve sports legacies might consider founding their own hall of fame or archive. Digital and web-based technologies may make this process more affordable by eliminating many over-head costs and the need for physical space. Grants may also be available through public and private institutions and funds might be raised

through charitable donations from individuals and organizations. Commercial sponsorship may offer another route to funding sports legacy preservation.

National or regional humanities organizations and oral history associations often have grant opportunities. For example, we have applied for grant funding through the Institute for Museum and Library Science (IMLS) and we are considering applying for a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Local or regional businesses, universities, non-profit organizations, and sports organizations might also provide funding opportunities for sports legacy preservation. Professional organizations and sports governing organizations might fund sports legacy preservation as well. For example, the International Society of Olympic Historians might provide a research and publication award to sports historians whose work involves sports legacy preservation.

Results

Near the conclusion of most of the oral history interviews we've conducted thus far for the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project, we asked the interviewees to describe what preserving the legacy of the Team meant to them. The answer given by Joe Dube, winner of the bronze medal in weightlifting at the 1968 Games, typifies the responses:

> It all means so much to me. It was an important part of my life and I feel very fortunate that I was able to have the mental and physical ability that God gave me to be able to accomplish and do what I did. It means a lot to me and still does after all these years.
>
> I knew I was someone's hero, so proud to be standing before the American flag and hearing the American National Anthem. I knew that my experiences would influence many a child or person aspiring to be better human beings or athletes. In addition, I realized that in the future I would be a unique person to uphold goodness and health in body and mind to those seeking me as an example, just as I had sought heroes in my youth.

> My experience in cross culture boundaries is that the sport is practiced universally and I seek to influence, guide, and help anybody anywhere. Standing on the podium . . . marked a profound change in my life resulting from hard work and my aspiration to be as good as those I once and still idolize.[76]

Through the establishment of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Legacy Archive and Oral History Project we seek to implement and evaluate a model for how libraries, museums, and archives can use innovative technology to preserve sports legacies and to enhance maintenance of, and access to, our nation's sports heritage collections. While there is still much implementation and evaluation work to be done, we have created and preserved nearly fifty born-digital oral histories and seven full-text searchable transcripts; we have also collected numerous electronic files of still and moving images and scanned documents. Using some of these materials, we have created several prototype web pages where users can simultaneously listen to oral history interviews, read synchronized transcripts, view photographs, and see geospatial information.[77]

The Stark Center plans on hosting a reunion of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team in October of 2012. We anticipate that the legacy collection will expand by leaps and bounds during, and in the months following, this reunion. This archive serves as the only collection of text, image, and audio files documenting the legacy of a specific U.S. Olympic Team. We anticipate that individual archive materials will be collated into a single web-based 1968 Team Archive with social rich-media functionality. Moreover, this effort will address the following audiences:

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[76] Joe Dube, "1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History," interview by author, transcript and digital recording of interview by phone, April 14, 2011, The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports. This interview can be accessed from the project web page, http://www.starkcenter.org/about/institute/1968/.

[77] For example, see http://solstice.ischool.utexas.edu/projects/index.php/Stark_1968_Rick_Gilbert.

- Academic researchers from multiple disciplines who would benefit from insights into such issues as the Civil Rights Movement and the Cold War made possible through access to primary source materials pertaining to the 1968 Summer Olympic Games;
- Educators in universities, community colleges, and public schools in need of relevant and engaging social rich-media teaching tools;
- Students of all ages, abilities, and learning styles in need of context-rich opportunities for learning about history and American cultural heritage;
- Writers and producers of news programs, biographies, documentaries, and other publishing formats searching for nuanced perspectives on the momentous events of the late-1960s;
- Members of the general public interested in such topics as the history of sport, the American Olympic experience, and the socio-cultural dynamics that existed at this critical juncture in history.

Others will be able to adapt this innovative technology-based model to enhance the management and accessibility of sports legacy primary sources. To facilitate this result, we plan to develop and disseminate a tool kit that will help others replicate our model for sports legacy preservation.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis locates sports legacies at the intersection of culture, memory and history. This intersection is fraught with contested interpretations, meanings, and values, which are important to societies and communities as well as to individual fans, sports participants, and others. Public history is the field most suited to the preservation of sports legacies. Within this field, oral history methodology is particularly well suited to sports legacy preservation. Using this methodology as a foundation, the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports has embarked on a long-term and expandable project aimed at preserving the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. We expect that the oral histories collected for this project will provide a wealth of material for current and future generations of researchers and scholars. Moreover, we hope that our endeavor will serve as a model for the public access of primary sources and digital preservation of sports legacies important to our national sporting heritage.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Mission Statement
1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project

The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports (Stark Center), a recognized research center at the University of Texas at Austin, is a library, archive, and exhibition space dedicated to documenting, preserving, and sharing the history of physical culture and sports. In 2011, the International Olympic Committee officially designated the Stark Center an Olympic Studies Center (OSC), recognizing the Center's commitment to promote public and scholarly debate on the Olympic Movement. With great pride, the Stark Center announces its first academic project: a comprehensive oral history of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team.

In September 2010, Tom Lough, who competed on the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team in modern pentathlon, approached the Center to explore forming a partnership to preserve the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team. Lough and the Stark Center staff determined that the first step in securing this legacy would be to create a repository of oral histories of 1968 team members. To that end, Dr. Thomas M. Hunt created a team of interested graduate students, providing them oral history training and background information on the 1968 Olympic Games. This group is now conducting interviews of those 1968 U.S. Olympic Team members who wish to contribute their memories to a permanent archive.

Many historians believe the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City were among the most culturally significant in the modern history of the Olympic Movement. In addition to serving as the first Olympic Games to be held in Latin America and the first to include testing for performance-enhancing drugs, the 1968 Games are considered one of the apogees of the Civil Rights Movement. Indeed, these are the broad themes explored by most historians. Missing in this historical scholarship, however, are the individual experiences of each athlete. The preservation of those experiences therefore

serves as the primary purpose of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project. In doing so, the Project will:

1. Record the words of each participating team member as a service to that individual and his or her family and descendants;
2. Accumulate material for historical research and teaching;
3. Provide members of the general public a prism through which to contemplate the Olympic Movement at a nuanced, personal level;
4. Inspire the youth of the world by exploring Olympism, a philosophy that places sport in service to peace, promotes the harmonious development of humankind, and champions the preservation of human dignity.

Over the past several months, the Center staff has completed a series of pilot interviews. Using feedback from these interviews, the Center staff, with assistance from Tom Lough, has refined the process. We have now expanded the project to include any Team member, coach or official who wishes to participate.

Through the oral history interview process, we seek to preserve the personal experiences and reflections of individual Team members, in particular, those that have not been previously documented or revealed through traditional historical research. This oral legacy will be valued by historians, researchers, and students—by anyone who recognizes and respects the demanding path to excellence.

APPENDIX B

1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project
Team Member Pre-Interview Informed Consent

The primary purpose of this oral history interview is the preservation of the personal experiences and reflections of a 1968 U.S. Olympic Team member. This interview will seek to illuminate events and recover experiences from the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games that have not been documented or revealed by traditional methods of historical research. The intent of this interview is to record candid information of lasting value, to secure the legacy of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team, and to create as complete a record as possible.

The mission of the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports at the University of Texas at Austin, with its official designation as an Olympic Studies Center, is to collect and preserve this oral history interview as an historical document to be made accessible to future researchers and members of the public. This material will be made available for historical and other academic research and publication by interested parties, including the interviewee and members of the interviewee's family. In order to augment the accessibility of the interview, the Stark Center will consider how best to preserve the original recording and any transcripts made of it and to protect the accessibility and usability of the interview. The Stark Center intends to provide free public accessibility to a digital recording and transcript of the interview on the Stark Center web site. Technological enhancements may enable synchronous audio and transcript viewing as well as the creation of indexes, tables of contents, and search functions. Due to changes in technology, preservation and access may take a variety of forms in the future.

The Stark Center will keep your interview confidential until you sign a release form. The Stark Center's transcriber may need to contact you in the future for assistance with spelling some of the places and names in your oral history recording. You have the

option to add additional information to the interview via a recorded and/or written addendum. You have the right to restrict public access to your interview at any time.

Participation in the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project is voluntary and all participants have the following rights:

- Interview consent may be withdrawn at any time;
- Interviewees may refuse to discuss certain subjects;
- Interviewees own the interview and interview content will remain confidential until and unless those rights are transferred to the Stark Center through signature on the Interview Agreement form (in exceptional circumstances recording an oral statement to the same effect);
- Interviewees may put restrictions on the use of the interview material.

Because of the importance of context and identity in shaping the content of an oral history narrative, interviewees will be identified by name. However, there may be some exceptional circumstances when anonymity is appropriate, and this should be negotiated in advance.

The Stark Center will honor the interviewee's right to respond to questions in his or her own style and language. The interview will be conducted and preserved in ways that strive to avoid misrepresentations, or manipulations of the interviewees' words, though there are no guarantees of control over interpretation and presentation of the interview beyond the scope of restrictions stated by the interviewee in the release form. Foremost, the Stark Center will strive to retain the integrity of the interviewee's perspective, recognizing the subjectivity of the interview, and interpreting and contextualizing the narrative according to the professional standards of the applicable scholarly disciplines.

Many historians believe the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City were perhaps the most culturally significant in the modern history of the Olympic Movement. In addition to being the first Olympic Games to be held in Latin America and the first to include testing for performance-enhancing drugs, the 1968 Games are considered one of

the apogees of the Civil Rights Movement. These are the broad themes explored by most historians. Missing in this historical scholarship, however, are the individual experiences of each athlete. The preservation of these experiences therefore serves as the primary purpose of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project. In doing so, the Project will:

- Record the words of each participating team member as a service to that individual and his or her family and descendants,
- Accumulate material for historical research and teaching,
- Provide members of the general public a prism through which to contemplate the Olympic Movement at a nuanced, personal level,
- Inspire the youth of the world by exploring Olympism, a philosophy that places sport in service to peace, promotes the harmonious development of humankind, and champions the preservation of human dignity.

Thank you again for participating in the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project. This extraordinary and unique venture is only possible because of you.

APPENDIX C

1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project

INTERVIEW AGREEMENT

Recordings and transcripts resulting from interviews become part of the archives of the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture & Sports, a division of the Department of Kinesiology & Health Education at the University of Texas at Austin. This material will be made available for historical and other academic research and publication by interested parties, including members of the interviewee's family. Due to changes in technology, preservation and access may take a variety of forms. The Stark Center intends to use software that will enable the posting of the original recorded interview on the Stark Center web site. Future technological enhancements may enable synchronous audio and transcript viewing as well as the creation of indexes, tables of contents, and search functions.

We, the undersigned, have read the above and voluntarily permit the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture & Sports to retain the information contained in recordings and in transcripts of these oral history interviews. In view of the historical value of this research material, we hereby assign rights, title and interest pertaining to it to the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture & Sports, with the following restrictions:

_____ Upon our request, the Stark Center shall embargo the use of the original recording and transcript for a period of ____ years.

_____ We retain the right to add additional information to the original recording and/or the transcript via an addendum.

_____ _____

Interviewee (signature) Interviewer (signature)

_____	_____
Name of interviewee (print)	Name of interviewer (print)
_____	_____
Date	Date

_____

Address of interviewee

City State Zip _____

Telephone number of interviewee _____

Email address of interviewee _____

APPENDIX D

1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project: Interview Topics and Questions

Interviewees have the right to choose the subjects they will and will not address. Keeping in mind that the interview will be recorded for the permanent record with the intention to make it publicly available, we respect their rights of interviewees to refuse to discuss certain subjects. If there is a sensitive subject that is better addressed "off-record," the interviewee should request the recorder be paused during the interview as we have limited ability to remove material once it is recorded.

While both the interviewee and interviewer should mutually strive to record candid information of lasting value, the interview is also expected to be relaxed and conversational. The "questions" can be viewed as story prompts or general conversation starters and should not be viewed strictly as questions that must be asked and answered in an exact order. Interviewees may find some subjects more relevant, meaningful, or memorable than others; therefore it is not necessary to address every topic from the list.

Basic Biographical Background

- Birth name? When and where were you born?
- Childhood — where did you grow up?
- Early Athletic Pursuits
- What sports did you regularly participate in when you were growing up and what options were available to you? Why did you choose a certain sport over another?
- Were your family members or friends involved in sports?
- Did you have any major influences on your early sporting career?
- How did you first get involved with your Olympic sport?
- Why/how did you end up specializing in this sport and taking it to an elite level?

- What were your high school and/or college career like?

Pre-Olympic Games, Everyday Life

- Where were you living and what were you doing in the year just prior to the Games? Where were you working/studying/training?
- How was your training and competition supported/financed?
- Did you have a job and if so what was it?
- Were most of your friends elite athletes as well?
- Were you married? Did you have children?
- How did your training and competition affect your work and relationships with family, friends, and co-workers?

Major Athletic Accomplishments (prior to '68)

- Describe some of the major competitions and successes that cemented your path to the '68 team trials.
- Making the 1968 Olympic Team
- Describe the Olympic Trials —what was the process and what happened? Where were they held? Were there any problems or challenges?
- How did your friends, family, school, employer and community/hometown react when they found out you made the '68 team? What kind of support did you have from them?

Training/Preparation for Mexico City

- Altitude Training Describe your training methods and regimen for preparing for the high altitude of Mexico City. Did you do anything special or train in a special location? What effects did you notice?
- Did you do any strength training or weight lifting to prepare for athletic competition in the Games?
- What happened in the month leading up to the start of the Games?

Olympic Project for Human Rights & Harvard Crew Letter

- Do you remember anything about the OPHR?
- Do you remember receiving a letter about this from some members of the Harvard Crew Team/Olympic Rowing Team? (And if so, what were your thoughts at the time? Have they changed?)
- Do you remember hearing anything about possible protests or boycotts by members of the U.S. Team?
- What were your thoughts and feelings about this? What do you think about this now?

Tlatelolco Massacre

- What do you remember about student protests and violence in Mexico City ten days before the start of the Games? What were your thoughts and feelings at the time?
- At the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City

Impressions of Mexico City

- What were your impressions of Mexico City and its people when you first arrived? How were you received? What were they like during the Games? Did you have any interactions?
- Did you venture out into the city, go sightseeing, or meet anyone from the host city? Did you need a translator/did you have a translator?
- What did you think of the Olympic event venues and facilities?
- What were your impressions of security measures in Mexico City, the Olympic Village, and at the Games?
- What were your accommodations like?
- What was your impression of the Olympic Village?
- What experiences and interactions did you have in the Olympic Village?
- What do you remember about your roommates or suitemates?
- What was the food like?
- Did you or anyone you know have any problems eating /drinking there? Any illness?
- What are your memories/experiences of the Opening Ceremony?
- Where were you in the formation—do you remember the column and row?

Relationships with U.S. Teammates

- Was there anyone on the team with whom you were particularly close?
- What are your memories of the women athletes and what were those interactions like?
- Gender verification testing was introduced in 1968. Were you or others aware of this test? What did you think about it?

Interaction with Other National Teams

- Soviet Athletes — describe your interactions with athletes from the Soviet Bloc. What were your experiences/impressions?
- East German Athletes —these were the first summer Games in which team members from East Germany were officially recognized as separate from the West German athletes. Do have any memories of experiences involving these athletes?
- When was your event? Where was it held?
- What were you doing in the day(s) just prior to your event? Any special last minute training or preparation?
- Describe your event/competition. How did you feel about your performance and the outcome of the competition? Were there any problems/challenges? Did you experience any effects from the high altitude?
- What did you do immediately after your event?

Testing for Banned /Performance Enhancing Substances

- Did you receive or were you aware of the list of banned substances? What were your thoughts/feelings about this?
- Do you remember having heard any rumors about other athletes/ teams/ nations that were using performance-enhancing substances?
- Do you think some athletes had reason to be concerned about testing for banned substances?
- Were you or anyone else you know tested for banned / performance enhancing substances? What was that experience like and how did you feel about it?

- Were you aware of the disqualification for use of alcohol as a performance enhancing substance that occurred with a Swedish pentathlete during the '68 Games? (If so,) how were you made aware and what were thoughts and feelings about the disqualification?

Smith & Carlos: The Salute

- Did you witness Tommie Smith and John Carlos's silent gesture /protest on the medal stand?
- Did you have any experiences or memories related to this? When it happened, where were you/ what was your vantage point/ from where did you witness it?
- What was your reaction? What did you do or say?
- Who were you with? What was their reaction? What did they do or say?
- When it happened, what were your thoughts and feelings about what Smith & Carlos did? How do you feel about it now?
- Looking back, what did you think of the USOC and IOC response?
- What were the people around you saying about what Smith & Carlos did?
- What was the media's response and how did you feel about it? The Media
- What are your memories of the media —TV cameras, live color television broadcasts, commentators, photographers, reporters, and journalists—at the '68 Games? Describe your interactions/experiences with the media at the Games.

- **Memorable or Interesting Events/Experiences**

- Do you have any specific memories of any record-setting events or special athletic accomplishments from the Games? Did you witness any of the

spectacular record-setting moments? If so, what was your vantage point? What was your reaction? What was the reaction of those around you?

- Are there any other memorable or interesting events/experiences at the '68 Games that you would like to share?
- For you personally, what was the most memorable part of competing in the '68 Games?

Closing Ceremony

- What were your impressions of the closing ceremony? Did you watch or participate? Where were you and what did you do? What were you thinking/feeling at the time?

Post-Olympic Games

- What did you do right after the Games? Did you go sightseeing?
- Did you have to return immediately to work/school/training or did you get some time off?
- What was the reaction of your friends and family?
- What was the reaction of your community/home town?
- Describe your return/homecoming/reception and the thoughts and feelings you had during those moments.
- What happened with your athletic career after the '68 Games?
- When / how/ why did you change or reduce your level of involvement in training and competition? How/when did your life or focus change? When/how/why did you leave the sport or retire? Was there a conscious decision/effort to retire from the sport?

- How are you currently participating or involved in your sport?

Amateurism

- What were your personal experiences with: eligibility rules, gifts, support, payment for medals, sponsors, and/or endorsements in 1968? What are your thoughts about this?
- Amateurism then vs. now—how and why have things changed? What are your experiences, thoughts, feelings, and reflections about this?

Reflections

- Who or what was your biggest influence throughout your athletic career?
- How do you think your life would be different if you had not been [an athlete in that sport] or if you had not taken it to an elite level and intensity of training and competition? (Positives and negatives?)
- What one piece of advice would you give to today's Olympic hopeful?
- What was the impact of the '68 Games on your life? How did your experiences there affect you? In what ways did it change or benefit you? Have there been any problems or challenges related to the impact of the Games on your life?
- In your opinion, what effect did the '68 Games have on the world? In your opinion, how or why were these Games nationally or globally significant?
- If you competed in multiple Games, what major comparisons can you make? What were the major differences? What were the important or surprising similarities?
- What does this oral history project, archive, and the preservation of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team mean to you?

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